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Vol. 56, No. 2 Whole Number 458

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EDITORIAL ROUNDUP

COVER—William L. Dawson on January 3 began his fourth term as Representative in Congress from the First Illinois District and became, when House committees were organized, chairman of the Committee on Expenditures in Executive Departments. He is thus the first Negro in the history of the United States to be chairman of a Congressional committee. Mr. Dawson, long known as an astute politician and a power in Cook County and Illinois political circles, enhanced his reputation last fall through the strong and skillful campaign he conducted for the election of President Truman. It is not denied anywhere in Washington that the Illinois Congressman has the most powerful voice on Negro minority matters in the Administration.

•

HENRY LEE MOON is author of "Balance of Power" and is director of public relations for the NAACP.

•

ARTHUR B. SPINGARN is perhaps America's greatest collector of books by Negroes. He is president of the NAACP.

•

GEORGE A. NESBITT is a Chicagoan employed in the housing field and active with citizens' housing groups. DOROTHY DOVER is an art student from London. She worked last year with Aaron Douglas at Fisk university and is now in New York at the New School for Social Research.

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COLLEGE and SCHOOL NEWS

The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has announced that JACKSON COLLEGE at Jackson, Mississippi, a state-supported teacher training institution has been given class "A" rating. Jackson College, founded in 1877, operates on a functional program which makes maximum use of community resources in training its students.

Hundreds of Atlantans thronged Sisters Chapel of SPELMAN COLLEGE to hear the students of Atlanta, Spelman, and Morehouse present their annual Christmas program in the music of more than thirteen nations. They sang the folk songs of Ireland, Sweden, Russia, Italy, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, China, and other countries. Although such familiar carols on the program as "Joy to the World," "Adeste Fideles," and "Stille Nacht," are usually a part of this Christmas observance, the audience was treated to some new and lovely tunes for the first time in the singing by the mixed Atlanta-Spelman-Morehouse chorus of "A Chinese Christmas Carol," arranged by Bliss Wiant; "Song of the Nativity," from the Italian; "A Virgin Unspotted" arranged by William Billings; and "When Jesus Lived in Galilee," which was taken from the mountains of Kentucky.

Responsible for the event was Professor Kemper Harreld, director of music in the Atlanta University System, who personally trained the chorus and the Morehouse male ensemble. The Spelman Glee Club was under the baton of Willis Laurence James. Others assisting in the presentation were Miss Ruth Norman, organist, whose solo "The Christmas Pipes of County Clare," opened the program, and Mrs. Leonora Hull Brown and Mrs. Portia Jenkins Crawford, who served as the accompanists.

The joint Christmas offering by the colleges of the Atlanta University System was initiated by President Florence M. Read of Spelman College in 1927.

The editors of "Phylon," Atlanta University's review of race and culture, have been notified that this publication has been chosen for listing in the International Index, which is devoted chiefly to scholarly journals in the humanities and the sciences. Inclusion in the Index is based on the results of a questionnaire submitted to library subscribers of the H. W. Wilson Company, publishers of indexes and reference books. The Index is limited to approximately 200 periodicals.

On the present editorial board are Mozell C. Hill, editor-in-chief; Nathaniel P. Tillman, managing editor; Thomas D. Jarrett, book review and poetry editor; J. Max Bond, Rufus E. Clement, Rushton Coulborn, S. Milton Nabrit, and Forrester B. Washington, all of Atlanta university. Contributing editors are Hugh Gloster of Hampton Institute; Harold Jackson, a teacher in the New York City public schools; Miles M. Jefferson, staff member, Theatre Collection, New York public schools; Oliver S. Loud of Antioch College; Ira DeA. Reid of Haverford college; and Oscar Sherwin of City college, New York.

The $30,000 DILLARD UNIVERSITY Alumni Stadium Fund Campaign was resumed immediately after the holidays. Dr. Rivers Frederick, chief of surgery at Flint-Goodridge hospital of Dillard university and chairman of the drive, announced that $17,017.31 has already been raised and the renewed effort to last for sixty days if necessary, will be for the remaining sum of slightly less than $13,000.

Recently, a new creamery and pasteurizing plant has been constructed at KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE, which will be in operation in a few months. The new creamery building will include: two refrigerators, bottle washing machine, milk cooling apparatus, bottle filler and capper, stainless steel pasteurizer, cottage cheese vat, and buttermaking machinery. Also 5,000 half pint bottles have been secured which will permit the service of individual bottle milk to the college boarding department.

Other new additions to the rapidly expanding department are: a new cannery which is being equipped with all the necessary facilities for food processing and a new farm mechanic shop which has just been completed with room for considerable outlay for tools and equipment.

December 3, 1948 will be a date to be remembered by all who saw the performance of the Charles Weidman Dance Group in Virginia Hall auditorium at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE. In-

cluded in the program were such numbers as a character sketch, "On My Mother's Side" danced by Mr. Weidman; Peter Hamilton's dance-characterization of Jesse James; the Purple Finch Patrol, danced by Betty Osgood, Felisa Conde, and Sherry Parker; Three Antique Dances, portrayed by Felisa Conde and Peter Hamilton; "Silent Snow, Secret Snow" a psychological study, danced by Peter Hamilton, Emily Frankel and Felisa Conde.

In order to satisfy and answer an increasing number of requests for aid in the utilization of Virginia's Audio-and-Visual materials of education, the Virginia State College Audio-Visual Center is establishing an Audio-Visual Clinic at the college, to operate without cost for the convenience of principals, supervisors, teachers, and church workers interested in solving problems related to Audio-an-Visual programs, it was announced by Dr. L. H. Foster, President of the college. The Clinic programs, to be conducted by the college Audio-Visual Center personnel, will be operated on each Saturday morning of the school year from 10 A.M. to 12 noon at the college.

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Twelve students of SHAW UNIVERSITY, all with consistently high averages, were cited for outstanding scholarship recently by Alpha Kappa Mu, national honor society. The group, including eight juniors and four seniors, was inducted in Mid-December into the Shaw chapter of which Rev. J. D. Roberts of the school of religion is president.

New members include the following seniors: Misses Angie Brooks, Monrovia, Liberia; Bonnie Briley, Robersonville; Mable Reynolds, Codfield; and Ledonia Smith, Rockingham. The juniors are, Misses Oma Jones, Oak City; Ramona Hammond, Philadelphia, Pa.; and Dorothey Alston, Newark, N. J.; and Charles Lyons, Bethel; Garland Wiggins, Nashville; St. Elmo Pugh, Norfolk, Va.; Jonathan Brown, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Leroy Hall, Steelton, Pa.

The 83rd Anniversary Service in observance of Founders Day was held at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, (Mo.) January 9. The afternoon program featured an address by Dr. J. Morton Finney, Indianapolis, Ind. Dr. Finney, an alumnus, received the first 120-hour degree granted by an institution (1920). He also served as an instructor here for a period.

Dr. Walter R. Talbot who has served as registrar for the past two years, has been relieved of his duties at his own request, according to an announcement from the Office of President Scruggs. Dr. Talbot is head of the department of mathematics. Assistant Professor Alvis A. Dunson has been appointed registrar.

The 85-voice choir of the university supported by the oratorio orchestra, presented Handel's Messiah in two pre-Christmas concerts. The annual Christmas concert was presented in Page auditorium Sunday evening, and an exchange program with the Jefferson City Junior college on Thursday morning.

O. Anderson, head of the Department of Music, conducted and Marshall Penn trained the orchestra.

President Sherman D. Scruggs will serve as vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Missouri Association For Adult Education, a special group of the Missouri Teachers Association, for the coming year.

The university and the University of Missouri at Columbia have completed arrangements for exchange of art works which will be on exhibit at each school late in January. The exchange was arranged by Robert Plummer of the Committee of Exchange Exhibits of the University of

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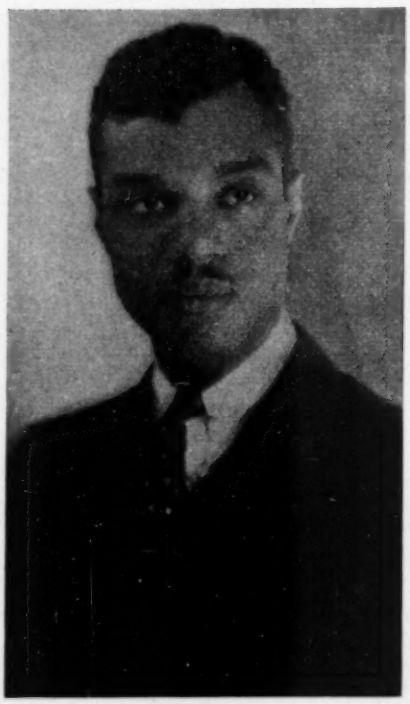
Lincoln's art work will be shown in the Student Union at Missouri U. and the latter's exhibit will probably be in the Model room in Schweich hall at Lincoln.

MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE, Atlanta, Georgia, is expanding its physical plant. A new gymnasium costing $100,000 was just turned over to the school by contractors, and a new apartment-type girls dormitory is being constructed.

Constituting the largest fall quarter graduating class in the history of the institution, 1068 persons received degrees at OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY in December. Among the graduates were three masters, one Ph. D., Donald Beatty, and one M.D., Tracy Parks. Dr. Beatty wrote his thesis on "Mobilization of Manpower for War Production during World War II" for his Ph. D. in economics and statistics. He is a native of Ft. Scott, Kansas, and did his under-graduate work at the University of Kansas. Before starting his work at Ohio State, Dr. Beatty taught school two years in Coffeyville, Kansas.

Among those receiving masters degrees were; Erma King Bentley, Education, Columbus; Joseph Carl Dacons,



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Chemistry, Cleveland; and Olen Alfred McKinney, of Rosston, Ark.

As a result of their oustanding work, several students were elected to honorary societies at Ohio State university during the fall quarter which ended on December 17. Among them were Charles E. Dickinson of Columbus, and Thomas Hugo Hughley of Cleveland.

Dickinson, who is working on his Ph. D. in floriculture on a recently granted General Education Board fellowship, was elected to Gamma Sigma Delta, a national honorary society for students in agriculture. He already belongs to Sigma XI, a national honorary scientific society, Pi Alpha Psi, honorary horticulture fraternity and Alpha Phi Alpha social fraternity. Dickinson is on leave of absence from his position of assistant professor of horticulture and landscape architecture at Lincoln university in Jefferson City, Mo.

Of great interest to former Ohio Staters is the fact that Thomas Hugo Hughley is one of several students who were invited to become members of Scabbard and Blade, a national military honoray society for students in military science. Hughley, a veteran of thirty-seven months in the army and two years overseas, is in his second year of advanced military and is a cadet captain. Not only did Hughley make Scabbard and Blade, but was further honored by being elected to Kappa Phi Kappa, a professional Educational Society. He is a junior in the College of Education, majoring in social studies.

President Walter S. Davis, of TENNESSEE A. & I. COLLEGE, announced that the new $700,000 addition to the library would be named for Mrs. Martha M. Brown, only original member of the faculty still in service. Mrs. Brown joined the faculty in 1912 when the school was established.

Adding that construction had already begun on an $800,000 engineering building, Dr. Davis said that the $750,000 heating plant was nearing completion and would add to the value of the engineering division. Next steps include plans for a law building, a building for liberal and fine arts, a physical education building, and provision for medicine and allied fields.

The introduction of curricula leading to the Bachelor of Music Degree, and the Bachelor of Arts Degree in all branches of music education has been announced by Dr. Herbert F. Mells, newly appointed head of the department of music. Dr. Mells said students may enroll in this program beginning with the fall semester of 1949.

The bids for the new library for WEST VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE were opened at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of January 26, 1949. A special meeting of the West Virginia Board of Education was held then to consider the bids.

—Acme photo

THE PENN STATE CHAPTER *of the NAACP picketed barbershops in the college town which bar Negro students, forcing them to go forty miles for a hair cut. The pickets are shown as they left the campus for town.*

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R O T C

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The estimated cost of the library building, together with stacks and furniture, will amount $832,000.

The mid-year graduation of students on January 30, and the loss of students during the current semester because of illness, finance or other causes make possible the admission of 257 new students at the beginning of the second semester on January 31. D. P. Lincoln, the registrar of the college, has attempted to balance the number of students coming in with those going out of the institution. Of approximately 266 seniors in the college, 66 are prospective graduates in January, 1949. Other seniors will be graduated in May and August of this year.

The arts committee of the West Virginia State College announces the opening of the second of the Life Magazine Exhibitions in the College Library, under the title of "The Age of Enlightenment." This is one of the series of pictorial essays on the history of Western Culture. The exhibition will run for two weeks.

KNOXVILLE COLLEGE was advanced to a Grade A rating by the Southern Association at its recent meeting. This attainment places East Tennessee's 74-year-old college for Negroes in the upper bracket in collegiate standing. Almost $100,000 has been expended in the past 18 months for building improvements and better library facilities.

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Editorials

THE MALLARD DISGRACE

THE "trial" and speedy acquittal of a white man accused of killing Robert Mallard last November 20 in Toombes county, Ga., was a disgrace to the state of Georgia and to the United States. When court convened January 11, Mrs. Amy Mallard, the widow, took the stand and identified the defendant as one of the mob of men that surrounded her and her husband in their car on the fatal night. She identified the defendant as the man who fired through the windshield and killed her husband.

The defendant denied the accusation and his lawyer then called two jurors from the box and had them testify as to the character of the defendant and Mrs. Mallard. These two men testified that they would not believe Mrs. Mallard under oath. They then went back to the jury box, retired with the jury and in a few minutes the verdict of acquittal was handed down. This unusual procedure is permissible under Georgia law but is seldom employed.

Mrs. Mallard fled from the town where the "trial" was held (where she was tried instead of the person accused of killing her husband) under heavy police guard. She was in deadly fear for her life.

The Mallard trial simply adds to the evidence that certain of the states, notably Georgia, cannot be depended upon to accord civil rights to American citizens. The Federal government must act. There must be a Federal anti-lynching law to take care of killings like that of Robert Mallard. The record shows that the states-righters have never protected civil rights and the Mallard case, coming in the midst of the fight for the civil rights program in Congress, shows that they do not intend to protect those rights.

The Mallard case is one with the Isaac Nixon case. Nixon was shot down in cold blood last September in Montgomery county, Ga., merely because he had voted that day in the Georgia primary election. The man accused of killing him was arrested and acquitted with blinding speed. The Mallard case ties in with the quadruple lynching of two Negro men and their wives in July, 1946, in Walton county, Ga. Although twenty men are alleged to have participated in this mass shooting, not one arrest has been made to this day.

In the light of this record, when Georgia's Governor Herman Talmadge and Georgia's Senator Richard Russell fight a Federal anti-lynching law they are fighting for the right of Georgia to lynch Negroes.

SENATE SHADOW-BOXING

A LOT of shifty shadow-boxing is being done in the Senate over proposals to change the rules so as to get at filibustering. This is being written before the Senate Rules committee makes its report and debate starts on the floor, but from the hearings before the committee (limited to Senators only) it is apparent that not very many Senators, Northern or Southern, Republican or Democratic, want to make any *real and fundamental* change in the rules.

The Republicans, playing smart politics, took the play away from the Democrats. Senator Wayne Morse of Oregon, stepped out with a resolution which would permit cloture on all motions and by majority instead of the present two-thirds vote. Democratic Senator Francis Myers of Pennsylvania joined him, *but Myers didn't even appear before the committee to testify for his own resolution!* Senator Carl Hayden of Arizona, chairman of the committee, joined Republican Senator Kenneth Wherry of Nebraska in a bi-partisan resolution which would apply cloture to motions as well as actual measures, but retain the two-thirds vote requirement.

This seems to be the only "change" that will be made. The Southerners, of course, do not want even this. It should be noted that not a single Administration Senator has made a fight to substitute a majority for two-thirds vote. If any of the civil rights program is to be passed, filibusters must be broken. If the rule is not changed there is not much chance of breaking them. It is fair, therefore, to conclude that a Senator's enthusiasm for civil rights legislation can be judged by his actions in behalf of a change in rules.

So far, all the pressure for action has come from the Republicans, for the purpose, largely, of needling the Democrats, but sooner or later this fake fighting must end, for the voters are determined to have a showdown on civil rights at this session. The friends and enemies in both parties will have to stand up and be counted.

AND NOW THE AIR FORCE

LAST April at a conference in Secretary Forrestal's office, the Navy made it clear that it had adopted and was putting into effect an official policy of no discrimination and no segregation. The Air Force said it had been following the Army policy of segregation, but now that it was a separate service, it would consider a policy of its own. The Army said flatly that it had a segregated policy and expected to keep it.

Last month the Air Force announced that it expects to put into effect a policy which will abolish segregation as to race and color. No details were given, but the goal of non-segregation was definitely stated.

This leaves only the Army committed to segregation as a policy. When is the Army going to realize that this is 1949, not 1879?

FIRSTS

THE first Presidential Inaugural Ball in the history of the United States which had Negro citizens as guests was held January 20, 1949, at the beginning of the full term of President Harry S. Truman, of Missouri.

The first Negro in history to receive his wings under the Naval Aviation Cadet program is Jesse Leroy Brown of Hattiesburg, Miss. He was appointed from the ranks in April, 1947, and sent to the Naval Air Station in Pensacola, Fla. After a year's duty with the Fleet he will become an ensign in the Navy.

What Chance For Civil Rights?

By Henry Lee Moon

WHAT the Negro gets from the 81st Congress, to the election of which he contributed significantly, will depend primarily on the effectiveness with which he can rally support for his legislative objectives on the grass roots level. His national spokesmen will, of course, work diligently in Washington for enactment of the platform upon which President Harry S. Truman campaigned and was returned to office. That work in Washington, however, will have meaning to members of Congress only insofar as the voters back home let their senators and representatives know, in unequivocal terms, what is expected of them during this session of Congress.

Strategically, the Negro is in a better position to voice his demands this year than ever before. It can be demonstrated conclusively that Negro voters in the pivotal states of California, Illinois and Ohio provided the margin which gave to President Truman the decisive electoral votes of these states. This, of course, is not to claim that Negro voters were alone responsible for the election of Mr. Truman. It is to say, however, that they were a vital factor in the President's unanticipated triumph.

In California, which gave President Truman its 25 electoral college votes by the narrow margin of 17,865 popular votes, Negroes in one Los Angeles Assembly District along gave the President 30,742 votes, Dewey 5,714 and Wallace 4,092. Voters in this district gave the President 76 per cent of their vote.

Negro citizens in Illinois, which Mr. Truman carried by 33,612 votes, cast 84,262 votes for the President in Chicago and an additional 1,163 in Springfield. In these two cities, Governor Thomas E. Dewey received respectively 34,250 and 97 votes in predominantly Negro districts. Mr. Truman received 71 per cent of the Negro vote in these cities. Illinois has 28 electoral votes.

Negro voters in four Ohio cities—Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland and Dayton—and in three small towns outside of Cincinnati gave to the President 80,423 votes as compared to 40,507 for Mr. Dewey. The President carried 66 per cent of the total Truman-Dewey vote cast by Negroes in these communities. Mr. Truman won Ohio's 25 electoral college votes by the slim popular margin of 7,107 votes.

Negro citizens delivered vital votes last November to help elect President Truman and many key Democratic Congressmen and Senators, but if they expect to collect in the form of civil rights legislation they will have to stop wishing and hoping and start doing the necessary hard work on the grass roots level, says this political observer.

Election returns gathered by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People from 27 cities and communities throughout the nation indicate a heavy vote for Democratic candidates, and particularly, for the President, in predominantly Negro districts. Some of these districts Mr. Truman carried by greater margins than did President Franklin Roosevelt in any of his elections. Of the total vote cast in predominantly Negro area in these cities 69 per cent went to President Truman.

Equally as important as the contribution of Negro voters to the retention of President Truman is the role they played in the election of members of the 81st Congress. Negro voting strength is now an important factor in at least 75 non-southern congressional districts. From most of these districts, candidates were elected who at least gave lip service to civil rights legislation. It is up to the voters in these respective districts to see that this verbal support is transformed into votes on the House floor. The Negro vote was an important factor in senatorial races in Illinois, Kentucky, West Virginia, Delaware and New Jersey. Negro voters in these districts and states have a right to demand not only favorable votes from these representatives and senators, but also positive activity in behalf of civil rights.

Of prophetic significance is the vital role which the Negro vote played in senatorial races in three southern states—Texas, Tennessee and North Carolina. In each of these states, the bulk of the Negro vote, both in Democratic primary and in the general election, went to the winning candidate. Indeed, Lyndon Johnson, the new Texas senator, could not have been elected without the overwhelming support of Negro voters. In the Democratic primary he won by the painfully narrow margin of 87 votes. This victory assured his election in November. Although the margins in Tennessee and North Carolina were not as close, Negro voters played an important role in the election of the senators from those states.

Three Barriers

The civil rights program has faced three obstinate barriers in the Congress. First, the seniority rule; second, the arbitrary power of the House Rules Committee; and third, the filibuster in the Senate. Under existing rules, committee chairmanships in both Houses of Congress are assigned on the basis of seniority without regard to qualifications or other fitness for the post. This rule has enabled senators and representatives from poll tax states, whose reelection is frequently automatic because of the restricted franchise, to fall heir to important committee chairmanships whenever the Democratic party is in power. This rule is so deeply entrenched in con-

gressional traditions that, despite widespread public demand, the 81st Congress has refused to modify it. Even more reprehensible is the failure of the Democrats in Congress to deny committee assignments to avowed Dixiecrats. Rankin of Mississippi and Cox of Georgia have been permitted to retain their committee posts, with the Mississippi demagogue as chairman of the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. Reluctance to purge these anti-Truman politicians stems partly from the fear that they will re-form a coalition with reactionary northern Republicans and thwart the President's entire legislative program. This coalition will likely be effected despite the tender-hearted compassion with which the majority party continues to embrace the rebels.

The House has taken at least one step to smooth the path of legislation. It has stripped the Rules Committee of its former arbitrary power. Under the old rules, this committee could and did bury such legislation as it deemed unwise for the House to consider. Thus, the 79th Congress refused to permit the FEPC bill to come to a vote on the House floor by the simple tactic of refusing to report it out of committee. In the 80th Congress, this committee buried the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill, which had already been passed by the Senate and for enactment of which there was persistent demand throughout the country.

Under the new rules adopted by the 81st Congress, the chairman of any committee in which legislation originates may, upon recognition of the Speaker of the House, call for a vote on any bill from his committee which has remained in the Rules Committee longer than 21 legislative days. This change is far from perfect, but it probably will be much more acceptable than the former rule. The power which once resided in the committee has, in effect, been transferred to the Speaker, who may or may not recognize the chairman of the originating committee when he rises to demand a vote on his bill. When the administration and the Congress are of the same party, the Speaker, as spokesman for the administration, can usually be depended upon to facilitate enactment of administration-approved legislation. Speaker Sam Rayburn of Texas is no advocate of civil rights legislation. However, he has been a loyal supporter of the Truman administration, refusing to go along with the well-heeled rebel Dixiecrats. Reasonably, he can be expected not to sabotage the administration's civil rights program.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN

"I stand squarely behind those proposals"

The Filibuster

Civil rights legislation has generally been killed in the Senate by the filibuster. This anti-democratic device enables a tiny minority to dictate the legislative program of the entire nation. While the right to debate issues is fundamental in any democratic society, it does not entail the right to obstruct legislation and undermine popular faith in the democratic processes. A mad minority has no right to special privileges. Any legislative maneuvers which enable such a minority to dictate what legislation shall or shall not be passed subverts the whole concept of government for, by and of the people. For reasons quite inexplicable to laymen, senators of both parties tend to look upon the archaic filibuster as an inviolate and sacred privilege.

Under present rules, debate on legislation before the Senate can be cut off only by a two-thirds vote of the senators present and voting. Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who served as president pro tempore of the 80th Congress, ruled that this provision did not cover amendments to the Journal or motions to take up legislation. In other words, the Senate rules provided no means of cutting off debate on such trivia as correcting the proceedings or considering any matters other than a bill itself. Accordingly, the entire nation is at the mercy of the group of senators who, in order to prevent a vote upon any bill the people may desire, may seize the floor and talk indefinitely on any matter under the sun, from atomic bombs to zymotic diseases.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has urged amendment of the Senate rules to permit cloture by a simple majority vote on any business before the Senate. Senator Wayne Morse (R., Ore.) and Senator Francis J. Myers (D., Pa.) introduced resolutions early in the opening session to provide for such amendment. This proposal, however, was received coolly by the majority of the senators, who apparently want to retain the two-thirds rule but to extend its coverage to all matters before the Senate. It is questionable as to how helpful this minor change in the rule will be in securing the passage of civil rights legislation. Heretofore, it has been impossible to attain a two-thirds vote to shut off speech-making on civil rights legislation. The Senate, of course, could remain in continuous session in an effort to wear the filibusterers down. This is possible when only two or three are engaged in this trick. But when as many as a dozen agree to participate in this obscene travesty on democracy, it is well-nigh impossible to wear them out as they can talk indefinitely in relays. South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Georgia, Louisiana and Arkansas alone can supply the necessary dozen senators for this purpose.

The Negro must continue to press for enactment of his legislative program, the filibuster notwithstanding. That program, formulated by representatives of 22 national Negro organizations, calls for legislation to ban the poll tax as a voting requirement; to punish the lynchers and penalize communities permitting this crime; to outlaw segregation in the army, in travel and in all public facilities; to establish a federal Fair Employment Practice Commission; and to provide civil rights legislation for the District of Columbia.

Wages, Housing, Health

The needs of the Negro, however, are not confined to civil rights. Negroes of America are, as a group, economically disadvantaged and, accordingly, are among the elements of the population most in need of social welfare legislation. Even if all barriers of racial discrimination were removed, a disproportionately large segment of the race would still be victimized by poverty, low wages, disease and concomitant disabilities. Accordingly, the race has a vital stake in efforts to raise the living standards of all the American people. The declaration of Negro voters advocates a substantial increase in the minimum wage. The present Fair Labor Standards Act sets that minimum at 40 cents, which provides a weekly wage well below minimum living standards for a family of four.

Negroes, being largely concentrated in the low-wage occupations, would benefit greatly by an increase in the legal minimum.

The Negro organizations likewise support legislation to provide federal aid to education and to health on an unsegregated basis. Rejecting the use of public funds to maintain or extend segregation in any form, they urge incorporation into the bills for education and health provisions banning the use of such funds for segregated institutions.

Next to employment, the Negro's most pressing need is for decent housing. The President has asked for 1,000,000 new low-rent dwelling units during the next seven years. This requires an extensive public housing program which should contribute to the elimination of slums in cities and towns throughout the nation. The proposed housing bills also provide for financial assistance to private developers for the construction of homes. As in health and education, segregation should be banned in any federal legislation to aid either public or private housing.

Because the Social Security Act does not cover the self-employed, agricultural, marine and personal service workers, a substantial group of Negroes are denied the benefits of this legislation. The President, in his message on the state of the Union, urged the broadening of the coverage of this act to include certain categories presently excluded. Expansion of the coverage of social security is of vital importance to Negro workers.

Other legislative proposals endorsed by the NAACP include the development of additional river authorities like the TVA to provide cheap electricity, provision for the Government of the Virgin Islands to retain all taxes collected on articles produced and sent to the United States or consumed in the Islands and revision of the Displaced Persons Act to remove discriminations against Jews and Catholics.

The Taft-Hartley Labor Management Act was passed by the 80th Congress over the objections of organized labor and other groups including the NAACP. The Association's labor secretary appeared before the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare in February, 1947, to voice the NAACP objections to enactment of this bill. Writing in *The Crisis* of October, 1948, Clarence Mitchell, NAACP labor secretary, exposes the so-called "little FEPC" in the Taft-Hartley law. "Perhaps it would have been more accurate for them to say a microscopic FEPC or maybe an invisible FEPC," Mr. Mitchell writes, "because as yet this phase of the law has not been found nor has it revealed itself. There is no instance in which a single colored person has been able to keep or get a job because of the Taft-Hartley Act." The Association joins with organized labor and other liberals in supporting the President's demand for repeal of this act, which has impeded the efforts of labor unions to raise the workers' standard of living through collective bargaining.

The Association continues the opposition to universal military training, to the efforts of southern governors and politicians to obtain congressional ratification of the plan for segregated regional colleges and to proposals to establish Jim Crow veterans' hospitals.

What to Do

Having approved a legislative program, Negro voters are confronted with the problem of how to obtain its enactment. Although the 81st Congress is rightly considered a more liberal body than its predecessor, it still retains a hard core of reaction consisting primarily of right-wing Republicans and Negro-hating and labor-baiting southern Democrats. A coalition of these elements will present a stiff barrier to hurdle, particularly in the Senate with its provisions for unlimited debate. The difficulties entailed in obtaining enactment of this program should discourage no one. Rather they should serve to bestir the voters back home to take positive action to see the campaign promises are paid off in legislation.

Just what action can the voters take? A few of the possible steps are listed below:

1. Know who your senators are and who represents your district in the House.

2. Communicate to both of your senators and to your representative in the House by letter, wire, telephone or personal contact that you expect each of them to support, work for and vote for the President's civil rights program which is your program. Remind them of their personal and party pre-election commitments.

3. Mobilize the support of organized groups, the local NAACP branch, trade unions, churches, fraternal organizations, civic, professional and business associations of both races to urge members of Congress to vote for the legislation.

4. Arrange for civil rights mass meetings. These meetings should be widely publicized through press, radio, churches, labor unions and other organizations.

5. In communities where Negroes cast a substantial vote for the winning candidates, get accurate figures on that vote, organize a delegation to take them into the local county and state chairman of the party, show him how essential that vote was to his party's victory, and let him know that you expect him to advise members of Congress from his county or state that the Negro vote may be retained only through active support of civil rights legislation. Members of Congress listen attentively to such messages relayed to them through the local and state party chiefs. Do not be diverted from this vital step by self-seeking ward leaders. If your ward leader is willing to cooperate, so much the better. If not, go over his head and insist on an audience for your delegation with the party chief.

Victory for the forces of liberalism is in sight. Its attainment, however, will not be easily achieved. It certainly will not be attained by sitting tight and waiting for it to happen. The forces of reaction will not let it just happen. They will yield only under pressure. It is up to the voters back home to apply that pressure steadily and unyieldingly. This means work. Wishing is not enough.

SOME KEY MEN IN THE FIGHT

Senator J. Howard McGrath, Chairman Democratic National Committee. His party platform promised civil rights. Write him that the bills must pass.

Vice President Alben W. Barkley. As a Democratic party leader and presiding officer of the Senate he can help the program along.

Senator Robert A. Taft, Minority Leader in the Senate. His Republican party platform promised civil rights. Write and tell him the GOP will not win friends and influence people among Negro voters by blocking the Democrats or playing ball with the Dixiecrats to hurt the Administration.

Rep. Sam Rayburn, Speaker of the House. A man in a most powerful position. Remind him of the Democratic party promise.

Books by Negro Authors in 1948

By Arthur B. Spingarn

THIS annual resume of books and pamphlets (which has appeared yearly in *The Crisis* since 1936) lists all the works in English written by Negroes and published in 1948 that have come to the attention of the compiler. It includes also a few publications that appeared in 1947 which came to his attention too late to be included in the resume of that year. It is necessarily incomplete and as heretofore, omits mention of works in foreign languages, a number of which are important and a few of which have been reviewed in *The Crisis* during 1948. No comments are made on books that previously have been reviewed in *The Crisis* (other than to indicate where such reviews may be found) or on the pamphlets separately listed.

I. BOOKS

ABRAHAMS, PETER: The Path of Thunder. New York, Harper & Brothers, 279 pp. $2.75.

The fourth novel of this South African author, now a resident of London. A sincere and touching story of the tragedy attending the love of an educated Native and a white girl. Published as a "Harper Find."

AMERICAN SPIRITUAL AUTOBIOGRAPHIES: Edited by Louis Finkelstein. New York, Harper & Brothers, 276 pp. $4.00.

The personal experiences of 15 American contemporaries including those of Charles S. Johnson (pp. 191-206) and Mary McLeod Bethune (pp. 182-190).

BELL, WILLIAM K.: A Business Primer for Negroes. New York, William K. Bell Publication. $2.50.

An elementary text book on small Negro business management based largely on personal experience.

BONTEMPS, ARNA: Story of the Negro. Illustrated by Raymond Lufkin. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 239 pp. $3.00.

Although written primarily for young readers, this book, in the opinion of this reviewer, is the best written, most interesting and accurate of any of the concise histories available to the general reader.

BRAITHWAITE, WILLIAM STANLEY: Selected Poems. New York, Coward-McCann, Inc., 96 pp. $2.50.

All lovers of poetry will rejoice that one of the race's most distinguished poets has in his seventieth year, made available the best of his finely chiseled verse in one compact volume. No library of contemporary poetry is complete without a copy of this book.

CAYTON, HORACE: In Northwest Passage, Edited by V.L.O. Chittier. New York, Macmillan Company. $4.00.

Contains an enlightening chapter on the race question, THE BITTER CUP (pp. 174-196) as well as a note on the problem of the Negro writer (pp. 119-120) both by Mr. Cayton.

CLARKE, JOHN HENDRIK: Rebellion in Rhyme. Prairie City, Ill., The Decker Press, 105 pp. $2.00.

Verses largely devoted to protest against war and against social injustices.

COFFIN, FRANK B.: Factum Factorum. New York, The Haven Press, 190 pp.

A miscellany of prose and verse by an author whose first volume was published in 1897; much of the verse is reprinted from the earlier book.

COTTER, JOSEPH S.: Negroes and Others at Work and Play. New York The Paebar Company, 63 pp. $2.00.

A medley by another veteran, now in his 89th year, whose first book appeared in 1895. The present volume contains a one-act play, sketches, stories, poems and music.

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New York 18, N. Y.

COOK, MERCER: Education in Haiti. Washington, D.C., Federal Security Agency-U.S. Office of Education VI 90 pp. $ .25.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October, 1948 at page 309.

COX, OLIVIA CROMWELL: Caste, Class and Race. A Study in Social Dynamics. New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., XXXVIII 624 pp. $7.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for September, 1948, at page 280.

CRITE, ALLAN R.: All Glory. Brush Drawing Meditation on the Prayer of Consecration. Cambridge Mass., Society of St. John the Evangelist. Unpaged, $2.50.

CRITE, ALLAN R.: Three Spirituals from Earth to Heaven. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press. $3.75.

Reviewed in this issue, page 61.

DAVIS, FRANK MARSHALL: 47th Street Poems. Prairie City, Ill., The Decker Press, 105 pp. $2.50.

Reviewed in The Crisis for November, 1948, at page 346.

DE KNIGHT, FREDA: A Date with a Dish. A Cook Book of American Negro Recipes. New York, Heritage Press, 426 pp. $3.00.

A cook book of American Negro recipes—as well as those with a European or Asiatic flavor, by EBONY's food editor. Salty comments by the author add spice to the book.

DUBOIS, W. E. B., Editor: An Appeal to the World. New York, N. A. A. C. P., 94 pp. $ .50.

A statement on the denial of human rights to the minorities in the case of citizens of Negro descent in the U.S. and an appeal to the United Nations for redress, prepared for the NAACP by five authors, with an introduction and under the supervision of Dr. DuBois.

DUBOIS, W. E. B.: In The Foreign Affairs Reader. Edited by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. New York, Harper & Brothers, 492 pp. $5.00.

Chap. VI World of Color is a reprint of an article by Dr. DuBois first published in 1925.

GLOSTER, HUGH M.: Negro Voices in American Fiction XIV Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 295 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for July, 1948, at page 216.

GUILLEN, NICOLAS: Cuba Libre. Poems by Nicolás Guillén. Translated from the Spanish by Langston Hughes and Ben Frederic Carruthers. Illustrated by Gar Gilbert. Los Angeles,

Anderson & Ritchie: The Ward Ritchie Press XI 98 pp. $3.50.

Selected translations of the work of a great Cuban poet, who has been hailed by competent critics as one of the foremost living lyric poets writing in Spanish. A few of these translations were printed in an earlier number of *The Crisis*.

HAYDEN, ROBERT and MYRON O'HIGGINS: The Lion and the Archer. Nashville, Mills Bookstore. $1.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for August, 1948, at page 252.

HAYES, ROLAND: My Songs: Afro-American Religious Folk Songs. Arranged and interpreted by Roland Hayes. Boston, Atlantic-Little, Brown, VIII 128 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December, 1948, at page 379.

HAYWOOD, HARRY: Negro Liberation. New York, International Publishers, 245 pp. $2.75.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November, 1948, at page 346.

HOLLEY, JOHN WINTHROP: You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top. The South through the life of a Negro Educator. New York, The William-Frederick Press, 226 pp. $3.00.

The autobiography of an educator in Georgia who "favors segregation in the Southern States for the time being" and—believe it or not—approves of Gene and Herman Talmadge!

HURSTON, ZORA NEALE: Seraph on the Sewanee. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 311 pp. $3.00.

The story of a white couple in the turpentine and sawmill country which the author knows so well. As usual this gifted writer has admirably depicted the background and language of her characters, but has been less successful in bringing them to life.

JARVIS, J. ANTONIO and RUFUS MARTIN: Virgin Islands Picture Book. Philadelphia, Dorrance & Company, 113 pp., 50 pp. of illustrations. $2.50.

A guide book of the Virgin Islands obviously commercially inspired, containing many interesting illustrations.

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. (with Herman H. Long): People vs. Property. Race Restrictive Covenants. Nashville, Fisk University Press IX 107 pp. $1.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for May, 1948, at page 153.

JOHNSTONE, FREDERIC A.: Embers. New York, Warwick Book Press, 100 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for February, 1949, at page 61.

LOUIS, JOE: How to Box. Edited by Edward J. Mallory. Philadelphia, David McKay Company, 64 pp. $2.00.

With the aid of photographs and drawings, the heavyweight champion elucidates the art of boxing. The numerous photographic illustrations of his ring career are good.

NELSON, DENNIS DENMARK, The Integration of the Negro into the United States Navy, 1776-1947. With a brief historical introduction. Washington, D. C. The Navy Dept., 212 pp.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October, 1948, at page 309.

NELSON, WILLIAM STUART, editor: The Christian Way in Race Relations. New York, Harper & Brothers, 256 pp. $2.50.

A symposium by thirteen distinguished educators, clergymen and social workers, setting forth as well as can be done the theological bases for the solution of the race problem.

MOON, HENRY LEE: Balance of Power: The Negro Vote. New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 256 pp. $3.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for June, 1948, at page 178.

MURPHY, BEATRICE M.: Ebony Rhythm. An Anthology of Contemporary Negro Verse. New York, The Exposition Press, 162 pp. $3.00.

"An Anthology of Contemporary Negro Verse," which contains some good, much mediocre or worse poetry and no poems by Sterling Brown, Gwendolyn Brooks, Owen Dodson, Robert Hayden, Braithwaite, Melvin Tolson or Margaret Walker!

OAK, VISHNU V.: The Negro Newspaper. Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Author, 170 pp. $2.50.

The first of a projected series, the second to be on the Negro's Adventures in General business and the third on Negro Insurance and Banking. The present volume attempts a critical evaluation of the Negro Press with constructive suggestions for its improvement.

OTTLEY, ROI: Black Odyssey. The Story of the Negro in America. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 340 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for December, 1948, at page 377.

QUARLES, BENJAMIN: Frederick Douglass. Washington, D. C., The Associated Publishers, 378 pp. $4.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November, 1948, at page 345.

ROBINSON, JACKIE: My Own Story as Told by Jackie Robinson to Wendell Smith. New York, Greenberg, 172 pp. $2.00.

A modest and moving account of Robinson's adventures and experiences in his amateur and professional sport life, not overlooking his successful overcoming of the race prejudice he encountered on the road.

SMITH, WILLIAM GARDNER: Last of the Conquerors. New York, Farrar, Straus & Co., 262 pp. $2.75.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November, 1948, at page 347.

SPENCER, GERALD A.: Medical Symphony. A Study of the Contribution of the Negro to Medical Progress in New York. New York, The Author, 120 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October, 1948, at page 310.

TATE, MERZE: Trust and Non-Self Governing Territories. Washington, Howard University Press, VIII + 128 pp. $1.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October, 1948, at page 209.

TATE, MERZE: The United States and Armaments. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 448 pp. $6.00.

The most comprehensive study yet undertaken of the part the United States has played or failed to play in the movements for the limitations of armaments. It is both historical and critical and covers the period from the beginning of the U. S. to 1947.

TOBIAS, CHANNING H.: In Wellsprings of the American Spirit, edited by F. Ernest Johnson. New York, Harper Brothers, $2.50.

Includes a thoughtful and eloquent address by Dr. Tobias, delivered at the Institute for Religion and Social Studies.

VILAKAZI, B. W. (with C. M. DOKE): Zulu-English Dictionary. Johannesburg, Witwaters and University Press, 903 pp. £2-5-0.

The scholarly and exhaustive book of Vilakazi's compiled together with Prof. Doke supplants all earlier Zulu dictionaries and promises to remain the definitive Zulu dictionary for many years to come.

WATKINS, SYLVESTRE C.: The Pleasures of Smoking. A Collection of Tales, Stories, Poems, Inspired by the Fragrant Weed. New York, Henry Schuman, Inc., 203 pp. $3.75.

A varied and entertaining anthology of prose and verse (chiefly humorous) pertaining to the use of tobacco. Compiled and edited by S. C. Watkins.

WEAVER, ROBERT C.: The Negro Ghetto. New York, Harcourt Brace and Co., XVIII + 404 pp. $3.75.

An authoritative and invaluable source book on the risk, development and results of segregation in the North with a plea for an intelligent housing program. A must book.

WEST, DOROTHY: The Living is Easy. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 347 pp. $3.50.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for October, 1948, at page 308.

WHITE, WALTER: A Man Called White. The Autobiography of Walter White. New York, The Viking Press, 382 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for January, 1949, at page 18.

WHITING, HELEN A.: Climbing the Economic Ladder. Atlanta, Georgia, The Author, 100 pp. $2.25.

A study guide for teacher and county supervisors designed to show methods to improve the lost of southern Negro rural children and adults, particularly those living on farms.

WILLIAMSON, SOLOMON JEFFREY: Poetical Works—Edited by H. F. Williamson, B.Sc. Boston, Bruce Humphries, Inc., 247 pp. $3.00.

The collected verse of a Jamaican clergyman who died in 1941.

WINSTON, BESSIE BRENT: Alabaster Boxes. Washington, D. C. Review and Herald Publishing Association, 160 pp. $2.00.

Inspirational verses, with a foreword by Georgia Douglass Johnson.

WRIGHT, R. R., JR.: Editor. Encyclopedia of African Methodism, with a foreword by Bishop R. C. Ransom and an introduction by Bishop W. A. Fountain. Philadelphia, Book Concern of the A.M.E. Church, 688 pp. $10.00.

Reviewed in *The Crisis* for November, 1948, at page 347.

YERBY, FRANK: The Golden Hawk. New York, Dial Press, 346 pp. $3.00.

The third novel by this extraordinarily popular author whose average sale seems to be about a million copies for each book. The locale of the present romance is the West Indies of the Seventeenth Cen-

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The Meaning of Loyalty

By Ken Macrorie

PERHAPS if you try very hard, you can become a good enough citizen to be a traitor to the "Americanism" of the loyalty boards that are springing up all over our country. But how will you know what kind of act is disloyal enough to make you a respectable member of the human race? Let me give you a few examples.

American soldiers stationed in the Philippines found that their friendly, kindly hosts, the people whom they were supposedly rescuing from Japanese oppression, were of a darker skin. They had features different from those of the American Negro, but they were still obviously of the "colored race."

I remember Maring, as lovely as her name, pronounced with a soft, broad "A." She was a Manila girl who had completed half her work for a law degree and was managing workers in an army laundry. She could not help herself as she fell in love with Charley, the army sergeant who worked near her. But he could not bring a coffee-skinned girl back to Indiana as his wife, and he wanted to go home to his friends and family. He did not tell Maring all this. One day when his shipping orders came, he left her forever.

She turned hard and sick in mind. When she looked at white men or talked to them there was a deadness in her. She would never believe them again.

But as the months went along I could see the hurt was lessening. Maring smiled and sometimes she laughed. And then once she came to me and told me about Charley and her feeling toward white men. She looked up, a smile breaking through her sadness as she said: "But I am over it—my hate for white men. My senses have returned and I know again that some men are good and some are bad and often the places we are all put in are very bad." And so Maring overcame the tradition of the colored person's prejudice against white men. It was hard for her to do.

"What kind of act is disloyal enough to make you a respectable member of the human race?" This author answers with examples

In the South and in the North of the United States you will find a few traitors to American traditions of discrimination and suppression. Mickey, a minister, came back to his home in Tennessee for a visit. His brother was working with a Chinese and a Negro on a sociology project. "Wouldn't you like to meet these fellows, Nick?" said his brother.

"Sure would," said Mickey. "Mother, let's have them to dinner tommorrow."

She was a sweet, kind woman who had been raised in the tradition of separated races, and so she said: "Don't you think we had better not if there is a colored man? It would be awkward for him as well as for us."

"Why no, Mother. Let's have them," he said. "After all, you eat lunch every day out in the kitchen with Sarah Lou. This would be just moving the same thing one room up in the house, to the dining room."

She smiled at the son she loved and respected, and said: "I know how you feel, Mickey, but I'd rather not."

"Just try this once, Mother, as an experiment, and if it doesn't work out right for you, I'll never mention the matter of segregation to you again."

She tried the experiment to please him. Several weeks later she asked him if she could accompany him to an interracial conference nearby. He said in surprise, "I'm glad you asked, Mother, but I don't think you had better go. There is only one hotel, and colored and white will be living in it together."

"That's all right;" she said, "I'd like to go." She was sixty-five years old when she became disloyal to the traditions of Talmadge and Rankin.

Freedom of Speech

I went over to Mickey's church one night to the AVC meeting to hear a man who had worked with several civil liberties organizations. In the question period, the lawyer in our club got up and said: "You propose to give freedom of speech to everyone indiscriminately, Mr. Frank. Would you give it to a Nazi who was advocating the overthrow of the government?"

The speaker put his head down and looked a little flustered. But he wasn't. He was standing with his foot on one of the little children's chairs in that church room, and when he looked up he smiled, seeming to be laughing inside at the questioner: "Of course I would give freedom of speech to the Nazi who advocated the violent overthrow of the government. As long as he committed no act that broke our laws, I must allow him that freedom; for there is no democratic way to censor speech, to decide what is revolutionary or reactionary, destructive or constructive. Our greatest leaders have always been denied freedom of speech —Christ, Socrates, Paine, Darrow; the list is almost endless."

The lawyer who had asked the question was no longer standing, but Mr. Frank was not through. "At the same time," he said, "I would demand that the government under which I lived be one which did not tyrannize its people, but gave them good wages, decent living conditions, real equality, and complete civil liberties, so that there would be no minority of people, like Nazis, who would want to overthrow the government."

His words were radical and good commonsense. Although this civil liberties philosophy broke with my traditions, I felt that at last I had found one I could believe in and that was consistent. As I walked away from the

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Break Up the Black Ghetto?

By George A. Nesbitt

PUT to them, in the abstract, few indeed are the Negroes who would answer the question of this title other than with a resounding affirmative. And most of these would not only modify the "yes" with a reference to a hot hereafter but add a plea for haste.

Take the question out of the realm of theory, however, and a quite unexpected response may result. Horace Cayton, the Chicago sociologist and newspaper columnist, recently suggested that

> This breaking up of the Negro ghetto isn't as easy as it sounds. We're finding, lo and behold, that there is a lot of resistance within the Negro community itself . . . When some of the fetters are broken away, many Negroes find themselves faced with the dual problem of giving up economic advantages and a neurotic pattern of psychological adjustment.

While Cayton chose to call no names, his observation happens to be apt commentary on recent events in and about Chicago's "Black Metropolis," in which he lives and which he knows so well. It is Negro Chicago that, when put to the test, provides a disturbing demonstration that many, many Negroes answer "No" to the question—Break up the Negro Ghetto?

Therein, to most people, is paradox indeed. For Chicago's South Side has long been the mecca for Negroes seeking a complete measure of equality. That "Chicago Negroes fight and know how to fight" is the accolade that their brethren throughout the country bestow upon them. And it is taken for granted that the fight is an uncompromising, straight-down-the-road onslaught against anything smacking of discrimination and segregation. To be sure, a few Garveyites reached Chicago and once a group of young lawyers proposed a Negro "forty-ninth" state. But how could such movements catch on in Chicago? Why Chicago's thousands of Negroes came there not to go on to Africa nor to a forty-ninth state somewhere, but to work, study, play, and live—without segregation! How could it happen in Chicago—this contentment with the ghetto?

Whites have no monopoly on advocates of residential segregation, for where Negroes have vested interests in Black Belt they, too, are pro-ghetto, as this article shows

It is happening in Chicago. The Negroes there seem satisfied with segregation. Anti-segregation is, of course, as well lip-served in Chicago as elsewhere. But the crucial test of action tells quite another story. Presented with an issue, broad-scale in its impact on the Black Metropolis of today and tomorrow and requiring considered but courageous action, Chicago Negroes are failing the cause of anti-segregation.

This failing, however, is the business not alone of Chicago. Nor because this particular incredible desertion of the cause of equality occurs among those considered in the vanguard of the struggle. It is extremely significant because it can happen also, and relatively soon, in Detroit, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and other large urban centers with thousands of Negroes tightly pocketed in the slums. It is the matter of rebuilding these slums and deciding what to do with the too many Negroes in them. This prospect presents us squarely with the question, "Break up the ghetto?"

Chicago Housing Authority

Passengers on streamlined trains entering Chicago are greeted by miles of ramshackle houses like the above.

Shelter vs. Scruples

Only the naive, the wishful thinking among Negroes and the Negrophobic among the whites, expected the recent Supreme Court ban against judicial enforcement of racial restrictive covenants to bring the walls of the black ghettos tumbling down forthwith. There was ready agreement among housing, legal, and race relations experts that mainly "when and if the total supply of shelter increases appreciably, the real influence of the decision will appear."

What happened, however, in the nation's second largest city, while people elsewhere awaited the passage of the Taft-Ellender bill, was that a huge housing program became a fact. That program involves an appreciable increase in the city's total housing supply, potentially thousands of units of public low-rent, non-profit corporation or middle-income, and privately developed housing.

The new housing is to be all rental and well over ninety per cent of Chicago's Negro families are renters. First phases of the program are low and middle-income housing, with Negroes weighing heavily in the former and appreciably in the latter class. The gravely disproportionate needs of the crowded black belt assure a heavy Negro share in the relief.

Finally, and crucially, the whole program is predicated on wholesale slum clearance. And the long-settled determination has been that the most desirable place to begin rebuilding the slums is where most of the city's worst slum conditions are—on the South Side.

Here the people are terrifyingly packed in. In this black man-heap there is no such thing as vacancy, though outside there are twenty square miles of vacant land labelled "white." If, therefore, rebuilding is to take place soundly there must be movement of Negroes from the crowded ghetto. Thus stark and real is the matter of breaking up this greatest of the city's black ghettos: the most perfectly circumscribed in the nation.

An incessant struggle has been waged in the Windy City against residential segregation. Chapters could be written to relate the story, but mere mention of the highpoints is sufficient: the bombings and burnings which didn't stay those fleeing confinement in 1910-20; the defeat of a Chicago racial zoning proposal shortly after the infamous riot of 1919; the report of the riot-investigating Governor's Commission, holding that "measures involving or approaching segregation are illegal, impracticable, and would not solve, but would accentuate the problem"; the famous Lee vs. Hansberry covenant case, a victory whetting national Negro appetite for an end to the evil; the repeated attempts at state legislative bars against covenants; and led by a militant N.A.A.C.P. branch, the raising of thousands of dollars, petitioning, meetings on street corners, in homes and en masse, parading, pamphleteering, and the defense of nearly fifty court cases, involving hundreds of parcels of property, in a magnificent all-out, anti-restrictive covenant campaign.

South Side Negroes were by no means alone in their fight, particularly in latter years. Two metropolitan dailies, with a special series of articles, occasional editorials, and selected news stories, and three city-wide citizens' housing groups, leading several score of other organizations, through reports, releases, speeches and conferences throughout 1944, 1945, and 1946, laid ever-increasing emphasis on racial restrictions on living space as the basic cause of the worst of the city's housing needs, those of Negroes. The initiative and resourcefulness of these forces brought about a notable conference, striking heavy blows against residential segregation.

Airport Homes Affair

The acid test for these "non-Negro" declarants against housing jim-crow was the Airport Homes affair. Airport Homes, a public housing project for veterans, located in a white neighborhood, became the scene of several days of anti-Negro rioting when the housing of Negroes was attempted. The white anti-segregationists proved their mettle

Chicago Housing Authority

Some elements of Chicago's huge Negro population want to continue ghetto living with its inevitable ghetto slums, according to the author, but residents of the Ida B. Wells project, part of which is shown here, are not among them.

and sincerity. They "spoke out" unequivocally, demanded and obtained police protection for the harassed Negro families, faced the mob, hour after hour, helped move in the Negro families, and aroused press and other support. They caused the city administration, through the mayor, to declare for the first time a non-discriminatory public housing policy and won its public acceptance. Moreover, in several other instances, these groups have assisted the public housing agency in successfully achieving interracial occupancy in previously all white neighborhoods.

Significantly enough, according to rumors then prevalent, certain Negro "advisors" to the Mayor, cautioned him that Negroes themselves were not anxious to go as far as he had gone with his declaration that "these homes are and will continue to be available to veterans and their families without regard to race, creed, or color." Consequently, in order to point up Negro support of the policy, a gigantic testimonial dinner was staged by sixty Negro organizations to honor the top executives of two city agencies for their diligence in implementing that policy.

Before that event, in April of 1947, the proposed Chicago housing program had been aired at a public hearing. Among a host of supporting civic groups present were the NAACP, the Urban League, the Council of Negro Organizations, the National Negro Congress, and the *Chicago Defender's* Steering Committee on Housing. No objections to the proposal came from this phalanx of Negro leadership. Subsequently, the state legislature appropriated state funds for the program; its five Negro members, with the exception of a single absentee, voting "Aye." Likewise the two Negro aldermen, both members of the city council's housing committee, joined with their colleagues in recommending bond issues for the city portion of the financing. Voters in the two Negro wards approved both the housing and slum clearance bond issues, the latter by eleven- and seven-to-one majorities.

The *Chicago Defender*, editorially, and a rather outstanding cross section of Negro leaders, through half-page advertisements in that newspaper and the local edition of the *Pittsburgh Courier*, endorsed the bond issues. A *Defender* editorial had concluded on the note that "in operation, it [the program] will be watched with vigilance to be certain that it is administered in the same intelligent and unbiased manner in which it has been planned and presented." The signers of the public endorsement pledged themselves "to keep a close hand upon the carrying out of the city's housing program." It thus appeared that the South Side community was accepting the program but with recognition of the necessity for close attention to its execution.

Yet there were rumblings of strong dissatisfaction. In accord with the earlier rumor of "advice" to the mayor that Negroes need not be housed in

veteran's projects outside of the ghettos was the charge that certain Negroes were responsible for an attempt to have the state legislation for the program drawn so as to keep Negro displacees from housing erected in cleared areas. At one stage a legislative proposal did provide that housing for displaced persons be where the demolition occurs or "within reasonable proximity thereof." Moreover, one of the local Negro publications had asked, "What specific provisions will be made for Negro housing. . . .?" such disatisfaction became unquestioned dissent with the circulation of "dodgers" publicizing a mass meeting held a few days before the election. The "dodgers" counselled "Reclaim Our Old Time Chicago South Side! Protect Your Rights! Don't Be Fooled, Bluffed or Cheated Out of Your Community by Housing and Slum Clearance Propaganda! Household, Home and Property Owners Meeting. . . ." At this meeting the admonition, "Don't be fooled or cheated out of your community," gained sharper phrasing from several women present. They shouted "This is not slum clearance. It's Negro clearance!"

New Slogan

The cry of "Negro clearance!" was bound to be effective, reawakening as it did an old fear that one day the Negro community would be uprooted from the lake front. Moreover, there were recent events lending apparent support to the Negro clearance charge. The planner for one South Side neighborhood re-development group, itself presided over by a powerful advocate of residential segregation, had almost admitted that his plan meant in effect a build-out-Negro scheme. Two well-meaning institutions, picturing their project in promotional brochures, proposed huge, swank redevelopment apartment buildings, set down in "Negro territory," with accompanying estimates of rents beyond the ability of most Negroes to pay. Moreover, these institutions, while talking of future housing to be open to Negroes, were at the same time actually converting Negro-cleared living space to non-residential use. Besides the legendary fear of a day of wholesale ejectment and recent appearances of the "conspiracy" in operation two other factors helped produce a climate for the "Negro clearance" nightmare. The racially-produced, unbroken solidity of a huge, hemmed-in mass of Negroes, had inevitably resulted in a latent counter-racialism in the black ghetto. Finally, the simpler strategy of defense (as contrasted with advance) is a "natural" for circumscribed minority forces. The South Siders, then, who fought as Negroes to gain living space, fight back, as Negroes, to hold it. How simple, too, for them to believe that whites from whom space was taken will take it back at the first opportunity.

Two groups of women, revealingly labelling themselves, "the Champions" and "the Vigilantes," lead the forces against what they call, with evangelistic certainty, "Negro clearance." They are joined in their crusade by politicians, big and small, and a number of ministers serving churches in the threatened area. A weekly throw-away, published by such a racialistic labor group that it insists that all employees in Negro neighborhoods should be Negroes, naturally lends vigorous support. Several neighborhood improvement and property owners' organizations give less vocal and spirited support but are firmly enough committed to ghetto preservation. The Champions and the Vigilantes urge "hold the South Side for Negroes" and label a citizens' planning agency's leader and the agency's report "Hitler and his *Mein Kampf*." One of the champions, in a featured newspaper article, summarily dismissed both white-movement-into the Negro-movement-out-of the "black belt," declaring, "Integrating whites into an overcrowded area doesn't make sense. . . . Negroes are not going to risk their lives for integration." On the other hand, the Park Lake Council on Neighborhood Clubs promotes a carefully prepared plan designed to hold Negro property ownership in their neighborhoods. Yet the representatives of the Council join the Vigilantes and the Champions in opposing housing sites for relocation families (from slum structures scheduled for demolition) when those sites are located away from the ghetto. Together these groups insist that relocation housing be built in the ghetto.

A large but loose element provides an indirect but effective support in defense of an intact black ghetto. This group sets forth no printed program and engages in no open campaign. It speaks for "ghettoism," in subtle fashion, by carefully saying nothing in the midst of the tempest. Busy women and spellbinding politicians and preachers deride and dismiss the valiant few anti-ghettoists as "Uncle Toms" and "tools of the whites."

Another extremely effective but phoney argument in this city, from which increasingly ghettoed Negroes sent the first Negro to Congress since Reconstruction days, is that to lose people from the ghetto is to lose political strength.

Many Are Confused

It seems that "confusion" is the general Negro viewpoint. Negroes, clinging to the black ghetto, are aligned with the whites who want to keep them there. On August 23, 1948, the city council held an all-day public hearing on relocation housing sites. A young white Unitarian minister, executive secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, has spearheaded a campaign in support of sites in new areas, away from the black belts, in order to open space to Negroes and to provide housing in an atmosphere in which open or non-racial occupancy patterns would be feasible. The city fathers, apparently bent upon preserving existing racial patterns, had forced the public housing authority to submit several sites which were in manifest conflict with the CAARD's enlightened viewpoint.

Several private city planners (white), the *Chicago Sun-Times*, one of the city-wide housing groups, and fifteen city-wide · non-Negro civic groups opposed the group sites. One predominately Negro organization, the Urban League, and a single Negro politician, Alderman A. J. Carey, together constituted the sole Negro opposition to ghetto preservation and extension. Except for the Urban League, the conspicious absence of the group of Negro organizations mentioned earlier as supporting the program, suggests their acquiescence.

Spokesmen for the Parkway Council and the Vigilantes actually testified for the "Maintenance of community lines." They stood shoulder to shoulder with the representatives of the anti-Negro property-owners groups, one of whom pleaded that "the Negroes want to be left alone"—in the ghetto! It need hardly be noted that the jim-crow sites were heartly approved.

It does appear that, subjected to the crucial test of action, Chicago Negroes are relaxing hold on anti-segregation. Why?

The favorable atmosphere for ghettoism, some of the rationalizations in support of the position, and the ease with which it is defended and takes on defense have been mentioned. But what motivates Chicago ghettoism? Are there groups that seek to preserve for themselves the status quo and hence resist the breakdown of the ghetto? There are. They are principally certain of the property owners, businessmen and professionals, preachers, and politicians who serve the South Side. Property owners, especially those resident in

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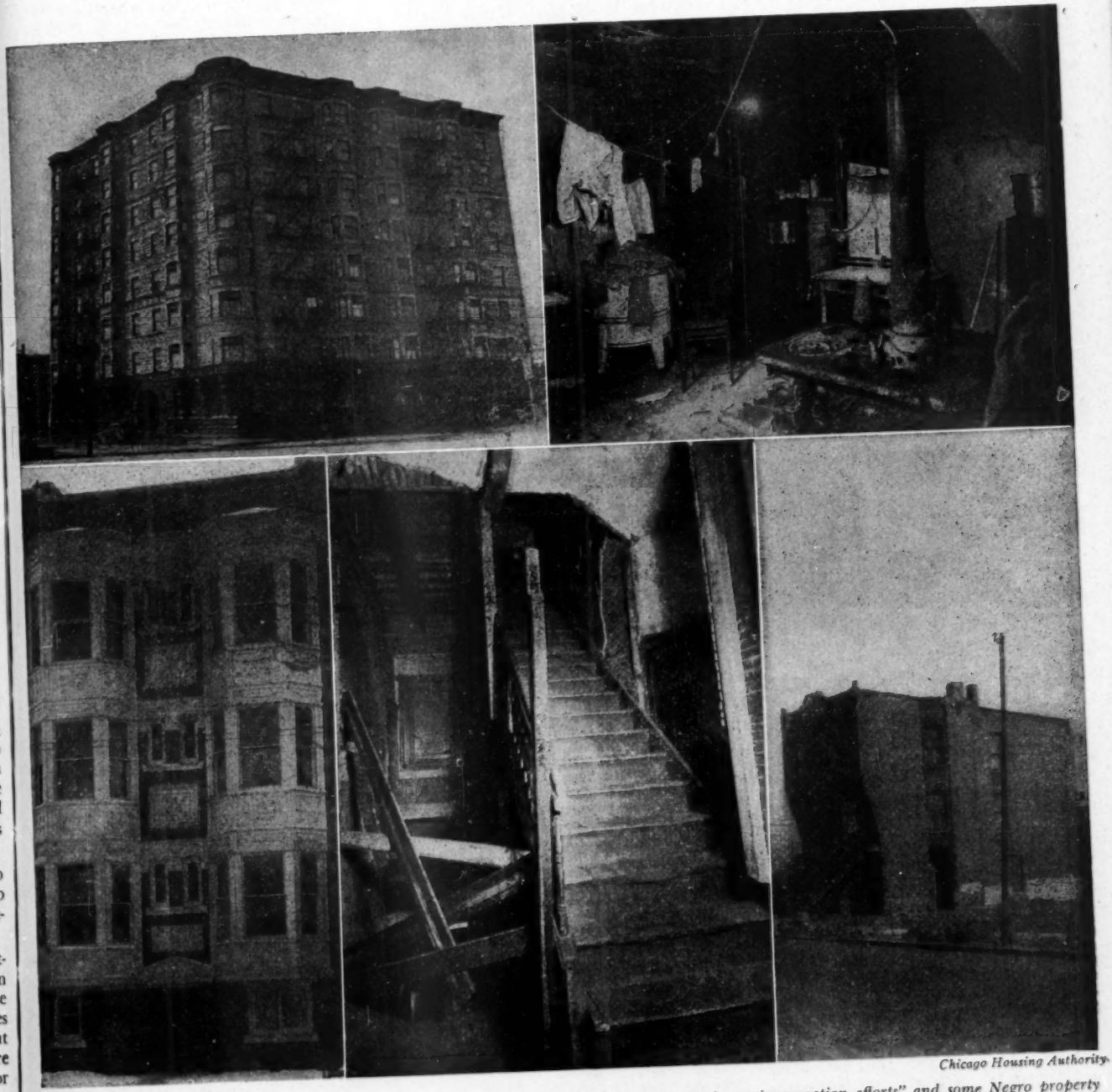
SLUM LIVING IN CHICAGO'S GHETTO



Chicago Housing Authority

The tendency of certain groups is "to give higher priority to their own interests than to the anti-segregation efforts" and some Negro property owners and politicians want to continue the concentration of Negroes in a tightly-packed area. These people are the first to declare publicly against segregation and slums, but privately they fight change. The result, whether they like it or not, is seen in the above views. The building in the upper left is an 8-story walk-up of 65 apartments, housing nearly 200 families—about 800 persons.

Black Ghetto

(Continued from page 50)

areas likely to be cleared, are open supporters of the policy of keeping the ghetto intact. Professed property owners lead the Champions and the Vigilantes and as such constitute the several allied groups of these two foremost pro-ghetto organizations. The businessmen and professionals, who support the protectors of the ghetto, do not usually themselves appear on platforms or get their names in print. But the ministers and the politicians match the property owners in blistering, open attack on those who would destroy the ghetto.

The property owners obviously represent a vested economic interest. Their properties, moreover, are rarely single family homes and often produce income as rooming houses, multi-family structures, or makeshift kitchenettes, so notoriously present in Chicago. The businessmen and professionals likewise fare well in the busy and monopolistic markets stemming from restraints on Negro living space. The ministers of the larger congregations, housed in big, costly edifices can make easy appeal to the communities of ownership involved. The politicians, of course, thrive in districts where the precincts are heavy and grow larger week by week.

Priority of Self-Interest

Students of residential segregation are acquainted with the tendency of these groups to give higher priority to their own interests than to the anti-segregation effort. For example, *Black Metropolis*, reports: "Most Chicago Negroes feel that the right to rent or buy a house . . . should be unalienable. Yet Negro businessmen and politicians will sometimes state privately that they prefer keeping the Negro population concentrated. During a campaign against restrictive covenants, one prominent Negro leader confided to an interviewer:

> Sure I'm against covenants. They are criminal. But I don't want Negroes moving all over town. I just want to add little pieces to the Black Belt. I'd never get re-elected if Negroes were all scattered about. . . .

Indeed, in a recent private gathering of Negroes, one of the most outstanding denouncers of restrictive covenants in Chicago declared that he had fought "only for the right of Negroes to live where they please" and insisted that relocation housing should be built in "Negro areas." And during a heckling spree at a very recent public meeting, "Another [heckler] declared that he owned the largest kitchenette building in the area, and spoke of tresspassers and shotguns," according to a *Chicago Defender* reporter.

As a matter of obvious fact, however, the same vested interests obtain wherever there are slum areas, and they are resistant to clearance. One would assume, however, that in the generally more economically depressed Negro slum area the propertied elements would be fewer and less influential. This is not true.

The Negro property-owner, businessman, professional, preacher, or politician has at the same time a closer hold on his economic interest in the ghettoed slum but will face a greater problem in re-establishing his interest than will his counterpart in other threatened slum areas. For he "won his way" in a most rugged fashion, since he overcame the added racial barriers to attain his status. He dearly appreciates what he has and is.

This sketchy review of what is happening in Chicago suggests some of the social and economic characteristics of the total Negro community itself which confuse its response and move it towards ghetto preservation when faced with the challenge of urban redevelopment. Only brief and incidental reference has been made to the welcome which anti-Negro elements give this outcome and its potential usefulness to them. Enough has been disclosed, however, to support the trenchant analogy of Mr. Cayton's: "At the time of the Emancipation Proclamation many Negroes chose to remain in slavery because they were afraid to face the insecurity of freedom."

Negroes ought to help usher out the black ghettos in which they suffer and not be beguiled by the few who wax fat on its drippings.

"Nothing to Go Back For"

Many Americans who were in the armed services have chosen to remain abroad after being discharged, and not a few of them have settled in Paris. In a report on some of these men, Eugene Burdick, writing in *Collier's* for December 18, under the title, "Our Not So Innocents In Paris," has the following to say about a Negro former soldier, a native of Mississippi:

George Gibson lives just off the Place Clignancourt in a working-class district with his pretty French wife, Nanette, and son, Pierre. George is six feet two inches tall, comes from Mississippi and is a Negro. He was in a service company during the war in the Paris railway marshaling yards. That was when he became acquainted with Nanette.

"Let's talk French," George said after we had talked for a few minutes. "I speak it better than I do English now."

He was right. He spoke the best French I have ever heard used by a foreigner.

"Why didn't you go back to the States after the war ended?" I asked.

"You can guess, but I'll tell you. I was a poor farm boy in Mississippi. And in Mississippi, that's something really poor. We barely had enough to eat.

"The only time I saw white people was on Saturday when I went into town to buy staples. I was scared of them. I learned to stay away from the saloon because when the white men got drunk they might want to get rough with a colored boy. I got in the habit of taking off my hat and looking down at my feet every time I came close to a white person.

"All I can remember of that town is seeing the dust squeeze up between my toes in summer and the mud in big chunks on my high shoes in the winter."

"Is it different in Paris?"

"Yes, it's different. There is just no color line here; being colored doesn't matter. Here in Paris everyone calls me 'Monsieur Gibson.' Not 'George' or 'boy.' You don't realize what that means. You'd have to be colored to understand."

"What do you do for a living?"

"A former French soldier and I have a motorcycle shop. We make a good living. Not anything much, but enough to get along on."

"Think you'll ever go back to the States?"

"Probably not. I'm still an American citizen. I'm proud of that but I just don't have anything to go back for."

"He's very droll, isn't he?" Nanette broke in. "Droll" is the exact word in French and it seemed very right. "He talks all the time of America; won't work on July fourth; says American beer is the best in the world. Eh, very droll."

When I left, George was throwing his son in the air and the squeals of delight followed me all the way out to the street.

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

ONE of the notable achievements of the General Assembly of the United Nations in their meeting in Paris last fall was the completion, finally, and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. A committee of the General Assembly, which included Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt as the United States representative, has been at work on the declaration for nearly two years. The complete text follows:

PREAMBLE

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people.

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas member states have pledged themselves to achieve, in cooperation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, *The General Assembly,*

Proclaims this Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

ARTICLE 1

All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

ARTICLE 2

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore no distinction shall be made on the basis of political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or the territory to which a person belongs whether it be an independent, trust or non-self-governing territory or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

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Furthermore no distinction shall be made on the basis of political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or the territory to which a person belongs whether it be an independent, trust or non-self-governing territory or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

ARTICLE 3

Everyone has the right to life, liberty and the security of person.

ARTICLE 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

ARTICLE 5

No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

ARTICLE 6

Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

ARTICLE 7

All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

ARTICLE 8

Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

(Continued on next page)

ARTICLE 9

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

ARTICLE 10

Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

ARTICLE 11

1. Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

2. No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or ommission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

ARTICLE 12

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honor and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

ARTICLE 13

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

ARTICLE 14

1. Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

2. This right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 15

1. Everyone has the right to a nationality.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

ARTICLE 16

1. Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

2. Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

3. The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the state.

ARTICLE 17

1. Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

2. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

ARTICLE 18

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

ARTICLE 19

Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

ARTICLE 20

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

2. No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

ARTICLE 21

1. Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

2. Everyone has the right to equal access to public service in his country.

3. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

ARTICLE 22

Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international cooperation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each state, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

ARTICLE 23

1. Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

2. Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

3. Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration, insuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

4. Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

ARTICLE 24

Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

ARTICLE 25

1. Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

2. Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

ARTICLE 26

1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

2. Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious

(Continued on page 61)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

40th ANNUAL MEETING

Reports on 1948: Plans for celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Association were outlined and evidences of the increased national and global influence of the Association noted in the report for the year 1948 of Walter White, presented before the 40th annual meeting of the Association, January 3.

High in importance in the record for 1948, according to Mr. White, is the vital role played by Negro voters in last year's election. Early in 1948 the NAACP and twenty other national Negro organizations joined in a nonpartisan statement of principles entitled, "Declaration of Negro Voters," which was submitted to the major parties for inclusion in their platforms and was used as a guide to Negro voters in judging candidates.

Citing the unity of Negro voters behind candidates supporting a full civil rights program as contributing heavily to the election of a liberal administration and Congress, Mr. White indicated that the NAACP "will rally its total resources to secure enactment by the 81st Congress of anti-lynching, anti-poll tax and federal fair employment practices laws along with other progressive social legislation."

Two outstanding NAACP legal victories of the year, according to the Secretary's report, were the United States Supreme Court decision in the case of McGhee vs. Sipes, in which restrictive housing covenants were declared legally unenforceable, and the decisions of Judge J. Waties Waring of South Carolina outlawing the "white" primary election in that state.

In the educational field, Mr. White cited the successful cases which won equalization of teachers' salaries in Alabama and Louisiana, and mentioned the continuing fight for equality of opportunity in higher education in Oklahoma, Texas, and other southern states. He also noted that the NAACP National Board of Directors is on record as firm in its opposition to the proposed regional plan for segregated education and asserted that the Association will present "implacable opposition to the ratification of such a plan by Congress" and will carry its fight against segregated regional colleges to the courts if necessary. The 80th Congress had rejected the plan by a one-vote margin in the Senate, he recalled.

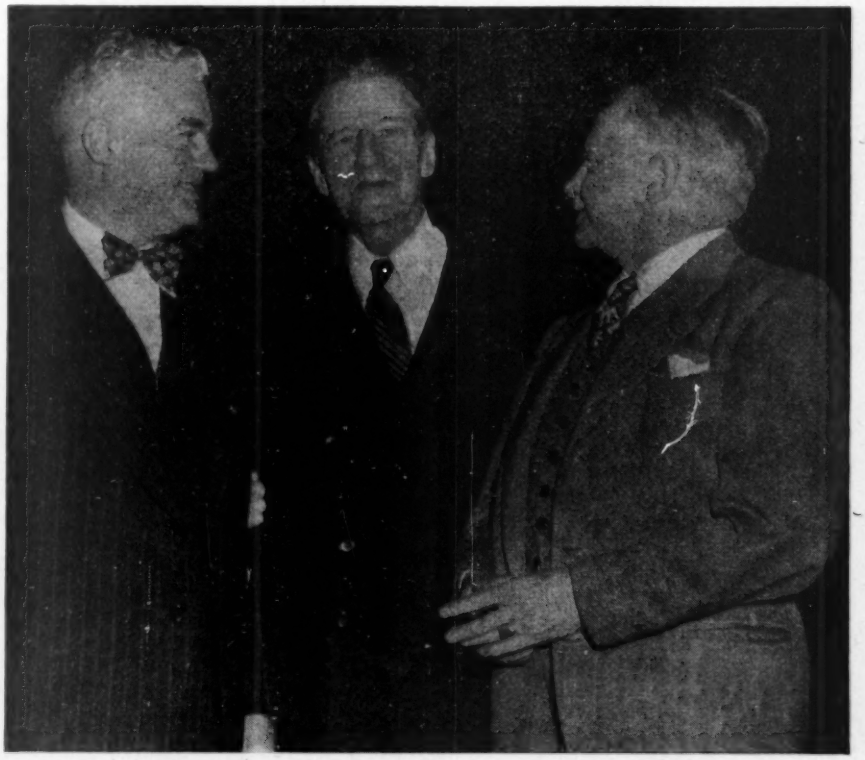
The reinstatement of Frank Barnes, suspended postal employee of Santa Monica, California, was cited as the first victory won by the NAACP under its recently-announced policy of intervention in loyalty probes in cases where charges of disloyalty are based upon race or color or membership or activity in the NAACP.

On the international scene, Mr. White related observations he made as an adviser to the United States delegation to the Paris session of the United Nations General Assembly, and praised the Assembly for its adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights and passage of the resolution outlawing genocide, which had been urged by the NAACP in its 1948 program. Mr. White also pointed out that the Association has taken a firm stand against return of former Italian colonies to Italian rule and has pressed for suspension of Marshall Plan aid to the Netherlands pending a satisfactory settlement of the Indonesian dispute.

In a report of the activities of the branch department for 1948, Gloster B. Current, director of branches, noted that 234 new units of the NAACP were chartered in 1948 and that Maine has become the forty-fifth state to join the Association. Mr. Current summarized activities of branches, state conferences, the regional offices, and the youth division of the NAACP. Reports were also presented by each of the other department heads of the National Office of the Association.

New Board Members: Walter Reuther, international president of the CIO United Automobile Workers, and Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, retiring NAACP field secretary and vice-president of the Pittsburgh *Courier*, are among the new members of the National Board of Directors elected by ballots submitted by branches and tabulated at the annual meeting.

Three other new members were elected to the Board. They are: A. Maceo Smith of Dallas, secretary of the Texas state conference of NAACP branches and race relations adviser of



ACTION FOR ISRAEL *meeting in Manhattan Center, New York City, brought together on speaker's platform Oscar Ewing, left, Federal Security Administrator; Dr. Stephen S. Wise, famed rabbi and president of the American Jewish Congress, center; and Walter White, NAACP sec'y.*

the Federal Housing Administration; Dr. Joseph A. Berry of Tuskegee, Ala., member of the staff of Tuskegee Veterans Hospital; and Dr. Ulysses S. Wiggins of Camden, N. J., president of the Camden NAACP branch and vice-president of the New Jersey State Conference of NAACP branches.

Present members of the Board who were re-elected for three-year terms are: Hon. Hubert T. Delany, Lewis S. Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, John Hammond, and Dr. Channing H. Tobias of New York; Palmer Weber of Washington; Norman Houston of Los Angeles; Carl Murphy of Baltimore; Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson of Newark; Prof. S. Ralph Harlow of Smith College, Northampton, Mass.; and Governor William H. Hastie of the Virgin Islands.

Deficit: The report of the treasurer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for the year 1948, presented here this week at the fortieth annual meeting of the Association, indicated a total income for the year of $314,982 from all sources.

Memberships, contributions, and subscriptions to *The Crisis*, official NAACP magazine, accounted for $287,097 of this amount. Since operating expenses were in excess of income, the Association was left with a deficit for the year.

STATE OFFICERS MEET

Representatives of fourteen NAACP state conferences met at the national office January 4 with the Association's national officers to discuss techniques and procedures for planning local legislative programs.

In his outline of the NAACP national legislative program for 1949, Roy Wilkins, assisting secretary, emphasized the need for cooperation on the local level in urging senators to vote for amendment of Senate rules to prevent filibusters. Mr. Wilkins also led a discussion of proposed legislative programs for individual states in their respective state legislatures.

Gloster B. Current, NAACP director of branches, led a discussion of the structure and organization of branches and state conferences of the NAACP. Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall and the Association's legal staff, outlined legal redress procedures.

Among the state conference officers attending the meeting were: A. Maceo Smith, secretary of the Texas State Conference; Kelly Alexander, president of the North Carolina State Conference; Donald Jones, Southwest regional secretary; Dr. J. M. Tinsley and Lester Banks, president and executive secretary of the Virginia State Conference;

STATE OFFICERS MEET *at NAACP headquarters January 4. Bottom row, left to right: Joseph LeCount, board chairman New England Regional Conference; George C. Gordon, president New England Conference; James E. Allen, president New York Conference; John F. Lopez, secretary New England Conference. Top row: J. O. Thompson, president Pennsylvania Conference; Miss Delia H. Martin, secretary, and Rev. E. S. Hardge, president of New Jersey Conference; Charles A. Levy, executive secretary, New York Branch; Robert L. Carter of legal staff; and Leslie S. Perry of Washington Bureau.*

Ransom photos

STATE OFFICERS, *left to right, J. Maynard Dickerson, president Ohio Conference; Franklin H. Williams of legal staff; William H. Brooks, chairman legal committee of Ohio Conference; Dr. J. L. Leach, president Michigan Conference; Willard B. Ransom, president Indiana Conference; and Miss Lucille Black, membership secretary.*

Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson and Milton Brown, president and secretary of the Maryland State Conference; J. Maynard Dickerson, president of the Ohio State Conference; Dr. J. L. Leach, president of the Michigan State Conference; J. O. Thompson, president of the Pennsylvania State Conference; James E. Allen, president of the New York State Conference; Rev. E. S. Hardge and Miss Delia Martin, president and secretary of the New Jersey State Conference, and other representatives from Georgia, Indiana, Alabama, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

LEGAL ACTION

Acquittal in Mallard Lynching: The speedy acquittal of William L. Howell January 11 on a charge of having shot to death Robert Mallard, Toombs county, Ga., salesman November 16 when the Mallard car was stopped and surrounded by a mob of whites drew sharp comment from Thurgood Marshall, NAACP Special Counsel.

Comparing Howell's acquittal with the "Georgia justice" which last year convicted Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram in the self-defense slaying of a white neighbor, Mr. Marshall stated: "These two cases taken together completely refute any possible argument for leaving the question of the enforcement of Negroes' rights to 'Georgia justice.' If there be any doubt in anyone's mind, he needs only to look to the most recent actions of Governor Talmadge in his determination to reestablish the poll tax in Georgia and to enact registration laws which will disfranchise most of the Negroes in Georgia."

Stressing the fact that the NAACP will continue with renewed intensity its drive for enactment of a federal anti-lynching law, Mr. Marshall asserted that the indictment of members of mobs followed by their prompt release by juries has "one purpose only—to furnish the basis for the fallacious argument that the South is solving its own problems."

Jim Crow Housing Banned: Racial segregation in an East Orange veterans' housing project has been banned by a decision of Essex County Superior Court Judge Alfred A. Stein. The decision was in response to a suit filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on behalf of Charles Seawell and eight other Negro veterans.

Ordering the City of Orange to end its policy of segregating Negro and white families in these publicly-financed projects, Judge Stein said: "The segregation admitted by the city authorities is unlawful discrimination and violates not only the general policy of the law but also the [veterans' housing] statute."

The decision, handed down on January 12, further declared that it was the "public policy of the state that such public housing projects financed in whole or in part with public funds shall be equally and commonly available to all citizens, free of that discrimination condemned by the statute."

Representing the nine veterans were Attorneys Herbert Tate for the NAACP and Jerome C. Eisenberg, chairman of the New Jersey state legal committee of the American Jewish Congress. Judge Stein's sweeping decision was the first in New Jersey establishing that segregation is discrimination.

Boswell Amendment Out: Alabama's Boswell Amendment which was enacted especially to keep Negroes from registering and voting by requiring them to "understand and explain" the Constitution of the United States was declared unconstutional January 12 by a three-judge Federal court in Mobile. Ten Negro veterans filed the case which was argued by a lawyer from Chicago. It is expected that the state will appeal to higher courts. A similar case filed by the NAACP is pending in the Federal court in Birmingham.

New Hearing for Samuel Taylor: The United States Supreme Court agreed on December 13 to review the conviction of Samuel Taylor of Alabama on a charge of raping a white woman. Taylor was granted a stay of execution last July in response to an appeal by Frank Reeves, NAACP attorney in Washington. The highest court will hear argument in a few weeks on the contention of NAACP lawyers that Taylor's conviction was obtained through use of a confession extorted from him by violence and fear.

LEGISLATION

Following President Truman's assertion in his State of the Union message to Congress January 6 that he "stands squarely behind" his civil rights program, the NAACP renewed its efforts to get the rules of the Senate changed to enable filibusters to be shut off. The Association is backing the resolutions submitted by several Senators which would permit cloture (limitation of debate) to be invoked in a majority vote of Senators instead of the two-thirds required at present. The resolutions would also permit cloture to be invoked on filibusters on amending the journal and similar routine business. Branches in 20 states wrote their Senators urging support for the change in rules, and letters were sent 80 Senators

Ransom photo

STATE OFFICERS MEET, *left to right: W. Lester Banks, secretary Virginia Conference; Milton P. Brown, executive secretary, Baltimore Branch; Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president Virginia Conference; Kelly Alexander, president North Carolina Conference; Thomas H. Wyche (leaning over), legal adviser to North Carolina Conference; Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., labor secretary Washington Bureau; Leroy Carter, field secretary; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president Maryland Conference; Gloster B. Current, director of branches.*

asking them to appear at the hearings of the Rules Committee beginning January 24 and support the change to a majority vote.

OTHER ITEMS

SCAD Finds Sandhog Jim Crow: Following announcement by the State Commission Against Discrimination that its investigations sustain complaints filed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on behalf of Negro sandhogs employed on the Brooklyn-Battery Tunnel project and that conferences will be held to settle these complaints, the NAACP this week renewed its request for a meeting with city officials to obtain elimination of discrimination in city contracts.

Repeating her request to Mayor William O'Dwyer for such a conference, NAACP Assistant Special Counsel Marian Wynn Perry wrote: "Now that the existence of discrimination has been established by the State Commission, we feel that it is incumbent upon the city to take some steps to insure against the continuance or recurrence of discrimination on these and other city contracts. The urgency with which city action is required is only emphasized by the fact that one of the contractors . . . found guilty of discrimination, has bid for work on the connection between the Tunnel and the East River Drive."

The Commission's investigation substantiated charges that Samuel Jackson, an electrician, has been refused employment by contractors on the project solely because he was a Negro, that Curtis Chaney had been demoted because of his race, and that Walter Tannis had been discharged because he opposed racial discrimination and attempted to secure democratic hiring policies.

UN Adviser for NAACP: Appointment of Rayford W. Logan, Howard University professor of history, as a consultant to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People on United Nations and colonial problems was announced January 3 by Walter White, NAACP secretary.

Dr. Logan, who will continue his duties at Howard while being available for consultation with the NAACP, has established an enviable reputation as an authority on international and colonial issues. He contributed the chapter on the Charter of the United Nations and its Provisions for Human Rights and the Rights of Minorities in the booklet, "An Appeal to the World," published by the NAACP under the editorial direction of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. He has also contributed to numerous scholarly journals and edited the symposium, "What the Negro Wants," published by the University of North Carolina.

Ransom photo

STATE OFFICERS MEET, *left to right: A. Maceo Smith, president Texas Conference; Mrs. Ruby Hurley, youth secretary; E. D. Nixon, president Alabama Conference; Mrs. Marian Wynn Perry, legal staff; Dr. William M. Boyd, president Georgia Conference; Donald Jones, Southwest Regional secretary.*

NAACP Sunday: The Church department announced that the celebration of the second annual NAACP Sunday will take place on February 27.

"It is expected that the celebration of NAACP Sunday this year will exceed that of last year in view of the fact that the NAACP is celebrating its fortieth anniversary as a pioneer in the struggle for unqualified civil rights for all people," Rev. Walter P. Offutt, Jr., NAACP church secretary, said in announcing the event.

The Rev. Mr. Offutt pointed out that the goal of the NAACP church department is "to achieve a greater working unity between the religious groups of the United States and the Association in order to strengthen our democracy."

Youth Legislative Conference: A call to the Third Annual Youth Legislative Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, to be held in Washington, April 20-23, has been issued jointly by Mrs. Ruby Hurley, NAACP youth secretary and the National Planning and Advisory Committee of NAACP youth councils and college chapters.

"This is a crucial year," declared the committee in its statement to the youth of the nation. "A mandate was given to the 81st Congress by the voters in the November elections and . . . this Congress must not be permitted to forget that the bills embodied in the President's Civil Rights Program must be passed without delay. Fair Employment Practices legislation must become law and other social and economic welfare measures must be passed . . . NAACP youth groups stand firmly behind the program of our parent body and we shall follow the mandate given to us by our 10th Annual Youth Conference—'to watch closely our elected representatives in Congress and keep a record of their action on measures supported by the NAACP.'"

Leslie Perry, administrative assistant of the NAACP Washington bureau, will arrange for delegates to the conference to meet with their respective Senators and Representatives. Co-hosts for the conference will be the Howard University College chapter and the Washington, D. C. youth council.

On to California!

40th ANNUAL CONFERENCE

Los Angeles, July 12-17, 1949

Brodnax

LIVE POSTER *was feature of recent convention of Virginia Teachers' Association at which Virginia NAACP Conference had a booth of of photographs on conditions in the state. The young model on the left is Hodges Picott and his charming partner is Sylvia E. Banks.*

What the Branches Are Doing

VIRGINIA: More than four thousand Virginia teachers and visitors to the 61st annual convention of the Virginia Teachers Association witnessed the photographic display of school conditions in the Old Dominion at an exhibit booth of the Virginia State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Most popular pamphlet was a booklet entitled, "Dear Teacher," which depicted a school child appealing to his teachers for guidance and help in becoming a first class citizen. Among the popular books sold at the booth were "A Man Called White" by Walter White; "The Balance of Power" by Henry Lee Moon; and "The Walls Came Tumbling Down" by Mary White Ovington.

Focusing attention on the exhibit was a "living display" urging all to accept the civic responsibility of registering and voting. The youthful models were Hodges Picott, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. Rupert Picott of Richmond, and Miss Sylvia E. Banks, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. Lester Banks of Richmond.

Theme of the NAACP effort with the teachers sought to "create a realization that our schools and our teachers who staff them have a major responsibility in helping to arouse our entire population to its responsibility in seeking first class citizenship for every citizen in Virginia regardless of race, color or creed," according to W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the state conference.

The Greensville County Branch became the first of Virginia's branches to complete its pledge to the defense fund established last year to expand the NAACP's legal program designed to correct wrongs committed against Negroes involving segregation and discriminatory practices. Currently, legal action, seeking equality of school facilities, is one of the major phases of the program.

Greensville presented a check for $1,000, to bring its contributions to $1,500, the amount pledged. Forty-six branches have made preliminary reports, but Greensville's marked the first complete report, according to W. Lester Banks, executive secretary of the Virginia Conference of NAACP, who received the check on behalf of the conference.

Upon reception of the payment of the pledge in full, Mr. Banks said: "While many of our branches have accepted the responsibility of creating a defense fund, to the Greensville County Branch must go the credit of being the first to complete its pledged obligations.

Mrs. Dorothula Knox, secretary of the Greensville branch, made the presentation on behalf of a defense fund committee which included Moses D. Knox, Mrs. Ernestine Knox, Mrs. Queen Roberts, Mrs. Lillian Simms, and F. V. Allison. The branch has headquarters in Emporia, Virginia.

NORTH CAROLINA: At the regular monthly meeting of the Chapel Hill Chapter of the NAACP, the membership passed three resolutions pertaining to the community drive for Negro representation on the local Recreation Commission:

(a) Other organizations in the Negro community be asked to nominate two persons whom they feel are qualified to represent the community on the Recreation Commission, then a community-wide election will be held

to determine which two men the entire community will support.

(b) Members of the other organizations be invited to work with the NAACP in conducting the election and in presenting the names to the Recreation Commission and to the Board of Aldermen.

(c) Representatives of Negro organizations represented on the Town Community Council be asked to present the names to that group in an effort to obtain town-wide support.

A mimeographed newspaper is to be published by the group to inform the community about the activities of the local chapter. The paper is to appear about a week previous to the monthly meetings.

It was announced that the first meeting of the Youth Council of the NAACP would be held Thursday night, January 13 at 8:30 in the Community Center.

ANNIVERSARY STICKERS

A 40th Anniversary NAACP sticker in blue and gold is ready for distribution to branches and the public. The sticker is a decal transfer suitable for automobile windshields, store windows, windows in homes and other surfaces. It measures 1 and ½ by 4 and ½ inches, and sells for 25¢. However, they are sold to NAACP branches for 15¢, for resale at the regular price giving a profit to the branch. Cash should be sent in advance with orders from branches.

Already 75 branches have ordered these attractive decal transfers including: Alabama, Birmingham, Dothan, Jasper; Arkansas, Desha County, De Queen, Nashville, Tarry; Georgia, Cuthbert, Washington County, Brunswick, La Grange; Florida, St. Augustine, Miami, Sulphur Springs, Orange County; Iowa, Waterloo, Council Bluffs; Illinois, Springfield, Cairo; Louisiana, New Orleans, Monroe, Baton Rouge, Killona, Jackson Parish, Alexandria; Kansas, Parsons; Mississippi, Louisville; Virginia, Dinwiddie County, Fluranna County, Covington, Isle of Wight County, Prince George County, Essex County, Lunenburg County, Supply; Texas, Lavaca County, Fort Worth-Tarrant County, Corpus Christi, Kaufman, Texas City, Rock Hill, Terrell, Wichita Falls; Tennesee, Johnson City, Knoxville; Wisconsin, Racine; South Carolina, Darlington, Bennetsville, Rock Hill, Lake City, Georgetown; California, Monrovia, Santa Clara County; New York, Port Chester-Rye, Hillburn, Far Rockaway, Mamaroneck; Pennsylvania, Darby, York, Johnstown, West Grove, Clairton, Philadelphia, Monongahela Valley; West Virginia, Brooke County, Wheeling, Big Creek District; Ohio, Columbus; Michigan, Battle Creek, Saginaw; New Jersey, Trenton, Princeton, Freehold; Missouri, Charleston; North Carolina, Macon County; Minnesota, Duluth; Maryland, Baltimore; Washington, Spokane.

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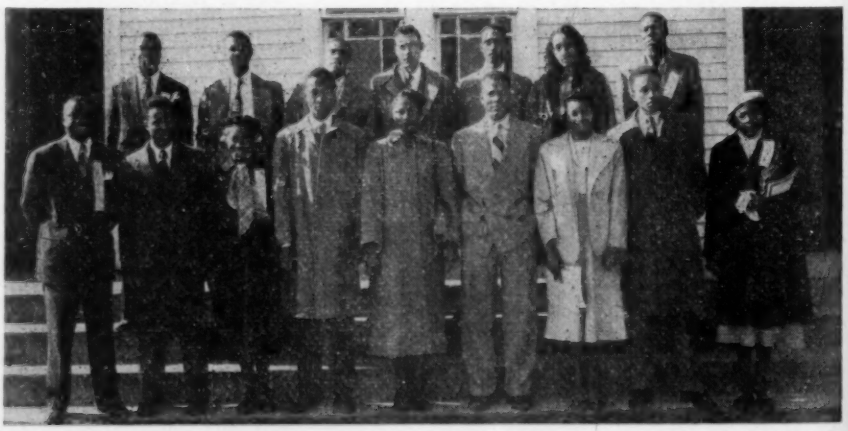
$1,000 CHECK *is presentel by Mrs. Dorthula H. Knox of Greensville, Va., branch to W. Lester Banks, state executive secretary for defense fund. Standing, left, is J. Rupert Picott, executive secretary Virginia Teachers Association, and right, Dr. J. M. Tinsley, president of Virginia Conference. Seated, left to right: Lemuel Herring, George C. Williams, John J. Batts, John A. Knox, and Bill Williams, members of Greensville branch.*

NAACP STAFF MEMBERS AT UAW-CIO CONFERENCE

Clarence M. Mitchell, Jr., labor secretary, and Roy Wilkins, assistant secretary, were on the program of the International Educational Conference of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, in Milwaukee, Wis., January 20-23. Mr. Wilkins addressed the general session January 21 on political action, calling for continued teamwork between organized labor and the Negro minority in the fight for civil rights. Mr. Mitchell was a member of a panel discussion January 22 on state and federal FEPC legislation. More than 2,000 delegates from over the nation were in attendance.



GEORGIA YOUTH COUNCILS *met at Cordele in December. First row, left to right: Gloster B. Current, Richard L. Carter, Miss Dorothy McIver, Charles Harris, Miss Mary Johnson, Isham Buchanan, Miss Princess Prather, James Jay, Miss Juanita Everson. Second row: Charles Stokes, Emmanuel Eaves, newly elected president, Henri Freeman, Cornelius Hubert, and Napoleon Williams.*

Book Reviews

PICTORIAL INTERPRETATION

***Three Spirituals from Earth to Heaven.* Illustrated by Allen Crite. With a foreword by Roland Hayes. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. $3.95.**

This book of seventy brush and ink drawings interprets three of the best known and best loved spirituals: "Nobody Knows the Trouble I See," "Swing Low, Sweet Chariot" and "Heaven." They form a trilogy dealing with the transition of man from earth to heaven, and Mr. Crite has sensitively expressed the feelings and circumstances from which they originated. His approach is underlined by his dedications: "To my racial ancestors, who through their suffering have left us so valuable a religious heritage."

The method of interpretation is to illustrate individual words and phrases from each spiritual in their proper sense: they are rhythmic visual interpretations of musical and oral rhythms. Thus, where emphasis is made in the sung spiritual by repetition, this method is used in the drawing by the repetition of identical figures. Each drawing occupies a full page, and on every opposite page is a small drawing which acts as a link between the main drawings. These fragments have a delicate vitality which show the artist's ability as a draughtsman.

This book is a creative work executed with contemplative emphasis on a colored heaven, but also with simplicity and satisfying attention to line and composition. Mr. Crite's drawings have a dramatic though formalized quality conveying the weary sadness of existence on earth and the joy of exuberant life with the angels. They are not to be merely glanced at, but deserve thought in relation to each other and the subject. For they are artistic achievements arising out of a deep understanding of religious backgrounds and the importance of myth in human survival. They deserve a wide audience, and the publishers are to be congratulated on presenting them, in a dignified and pleasing format, at a price which is not prohibitive.

DOROTHY DOVER

IN BRIEF

***Embers.* By Frederick A. Johnstone. New York: Warwick Book Press, 1948. 100pp.**

Mr. Johnstone wants us to know that he has fashioned his verse mainly out of his army experiences and impressions. That they are "based on actual occurrences" one can well believe, since these actualities are never transmuted into poetry. Our author's is the prosaic reporter's approach to the event with no illumination whatever of that inner vision which is the basis of real poetry in contradiction to poetastry. There is an occasional lyric explosion but it always sputters out after the first two or three lines. A reader will rake over the embers in vain for the telling phrase or the sensory image that is so characteristic of poetry as distinguished from verse.

***The History of Alpha Phi Alpha: A Development in Negro College Life.* By Charles H. Wesley. Washington: Foundation Publishers, Inc., 1948. XXI+464pp.**

The purpose of this book is to show how the forty-two-year-old Alpha Phi Alpha evolved from a nine-member social club at Cornell university, Ithaca, N. Y., in 1905-06 into the present national college Greek-letter fraternity of 275 undergraduate and graduate chapters. The original group called themselves at various times a club, an organization, a society; and not until December 4, 1906, did they become formally a fraternity. Fugleman in this enterprise was C. C. Poindexter, and if one man is to get credit for founding APA that man is perhaps Mr. Poindexter, although he withdrew when the group abandoned the literary club idea. Seven members of this social club were founders of the fraternity. Not only is Alpha Phi Alpha the first Negro college Greek-letter fraternity, but it is also the first Negro fraternity to drop its racially restrictive membership clause (which it did in 1941) by changing "any Negro male student" to read "any male student."

This is the fifth edition of a book published originally in 1929, with revisions and enlargements in 1935 and 1939. With the exception of a new chapter on "Education and War," the history is textually the same as that of the fourth edition. A well-written, informative volume with 104 illustrations from photographs.

***Lost City of the Incas: The Story of Machu Picchu and Its Builders.* By Hiram Bingham. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1948. XVIII+263pp. $5.00.**

Dr. Hiram Bingham, former college professor, ex-governor and senator from Connecticut, tells about his archeological explorations in Peru and how he, with the assistance of the Quichua Melchor Arteaga, discovered in 1911 the lost Inca city now called Machu Picchu. In the first part our author gives a running survey of the Incas and their civilization. Really a remarkable people, the Incas lived under a benign absolutism in a civilization which operated on the principle that everybody should work but neither too hard nor too long, and that nobody should suffer from want. They built remarkable roads, bridges, tunnels, aqueducts, and irrigation ditches; and domesticated more kinds of food and medicinal plants than any other people in the world. Although they never developed a system of writing, they did have an elaborate system of records kept by means of knotted cords called *quipus*.

The lost city, described in the second section of the book, was the favorite of the last Inca emperors and the site of temples and palaces built of white granite in the most inaccessible parts of the canyon of Urubamba. There were fortifications, stairways, a sacred plaza, temple of the sun, graded and terraced garden plots, and an adequate water supply. It is Dr. Bingahm's belief that the Spaniards never visited the place. He also theorizes as to how the city came to be built, suggests that its first name was Tampu-tocco, and that in its later years it became a place of refuge for "the last remnants of the old regime. . . ." An interesting, fact-packed book despite the fact that its material is so organized that it does not always make for easy reading.

***The Bellevue Story.* By Page Cooper. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1948. X+277pp. $3.00.**

A lively account of New York City's Bellevue hospital from its founding by the Dutch in 1658 to the present city institution. Bellevue is much more than a hospital; it is an undertaker's school, a laboratory for the detection of crime, a law court, a house of correction, a winter home for alcoholics, and a training ground for physicians and surgeons. The hospital has its paradoxes too: it is never short on blood plasma, but often is on towels; it gives good diagnostic service, but serves bad food; it houses the laboratory of the famous crime analyst, Dr. Alexander O. Gettler, chief medical examiner, with the same equanimity as it does tubercular bums. Many famous men have been on its staff: Post, Hosack, Wood, Welch, Smith, and many others. Among the many anecdotes about these men is one telling how Dr. Mott used to rifle potter's field for bodies and then calmly ride down Broadway atop the cadavers. There is also the story of Nelly Bly—Elizabeth Cochrane—who pretended to be insane and was admitted to Blackwell's Island. She got her story and her experience led to improvements in the care of the insane. This book is rewarding reading for all interested in the sick, doctors, hospitals, and singular personalities.

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Human Rights

(Continued from page 54)

groups, and shall further activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

3. Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

ARTICLE 27

1. Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

2. Everyone has the right to the

protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

ARTICLE 28

Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this declaration can be fully realized.

ARTICLE 29

1. Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

2. In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

3. These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

ARTICLE 30

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any state, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

Loyalty

(*Continued from page 47*)

church that night I thought Mr. Frank had touched a weak spot in Communists. I wondered whether they would allow a minority that advocated the violent overthrow of their government to speak. Of course not many people would. But right then I knew that I wanted my country to put this principle in action, for every minority, Communists included. I knew that Lincoln and Jefferson had said much the same thing. They had broken a tradition common to the whole world.

Bill of Rights

A few days later I talked to a young English instructor who had been living in Paris for a while after the war. "You know," he said, "the United Nations must meet and decide upon a bill of rights. I know they'd have a hard time agreeing on anything, but they ought to be able to agree on a few fundamental rights, such as trial by jury, the right to vote, the right to speak freely. They shouldn't expect complete agreement, but they should take everything they can all agree on, and however little that is, call it their Bill of Rights. Then they should set up the machinery—court and police—by which they can ensure any citizen of any country of the world the exercise of these rights they have agreed on. Then if a woman is denied the right to vote in Russia or South Africa or South Carolina, she will appeal to the United Nations, not to the country in which she lives. A United Nations which can stand by the citizens of the world in that way will hold the respect of all governments and all peoples."

I went away from this traitor to national sovereignty feeling very good. He had put his finger on the spot where the United Nations should be strongest—its relation to the individual citizen of the world.

The wise men, the practical men, will tell you that a government cannot allow its laws to be broken, its power and force to be questioned or challenged. Anyone can see the justness of that, for a government without authority no longer governs. All this is true but at the same time there is another question—the question of men, and of their human rights. There have been strong governments in the past that have not allowed their authority to be broken. Yet they have allowed their citizens, the men, women, and children living under them, to feel poverty, to lie sick, to die of malnutrition, to be discriminated against and murdered by other citizens, to live miserably and without honor.

Living and governing for men is a dilemma: it is one thing for a government not to allow its authority to be unfairly questioned or broken; it is also quite a thing for a government not to allow its citizens to be unfairly questioned or broken.

As Henry Thoreau said:

> Unjust laws exist: shall we be content to obey them, or shall we endeavor to amend them, and obey them until we have succeeded, or shall we transgress them at once? . . . If the injustice is part of the necessary friction of the machine of government, let it go, let it go . . . but if it is of such a nature that it requires you to be the agent of injustice to another, then, I say, break the law. Let your life be a counter friction to stop the machine. What I have to do is to see, at any rate, that I do not lend myself to the wrong which I condemn . . . It is not desirable to cultivate a respect for the law, so much as for the right.

This is the meaning of loyalty as I see it now. Perhaps I will see it differently next week or next year, for we change and we should. The loyalty must be to the good of living man—and that man is any man, wherever he is born, in whatever conditions, of whatever parents, of whatever color or shape or custom.

Man in the lowest must become man in the highest.

Books

(*Continued from page 46*)

tury and his hero and heroine are gentleman and lady pirates respectively.

II. PAMPHLETS

Among the pamphlets seen by the compiler in 1948, the following may be noted:

ARMATTOE, R. E. G.: Personal recollections of the Nobel Laureation Festival of 1947. Londerry, Northern Ireland.

BOHANNAN, WILLIAM E.: A Letter to American Negroes. New York.

BONNER, HENRY G.: The Corundum People. New York.

COBB, W. MONTAGUE: Progress and portents for the Negro in medicine. New York.

EVANS, JAMES C.: The Negro in the army. Policy and Practice. Washington, D. C.

FOREMAN, PAUL B. & MOZELL C. HILL: The Negro in the U. S., a Bibliography. Oklahoma A. & M. College.

GREEN, HARRY W., editor: Educating for community participation. Institute. West Virginia.

JOHNSON, KATHRYN M.: The Dark Race in the Dawn. New York.

KAYAMBA, H. MARTIN: African Problems. London.

KAYAMBA, H. MARTIN: An African in Europe. London.

NAACP Declaration of Negro Voters. New York.

NAACP Defending Your Civil Rights. Handbook of What to do. New York.

NAACP Equal Justice Under Law. New York.

NAACP "Georgia Justice." The Ingram Case. New York.

NEWBY, WILLIAM McKINLEY: A report on Negro Freemasonry, Philadelphia.

PADMORE, GEORGE, editor: History of the Pan-African Congress. Manchester, England.

SCHUYLER, GEORGE S.: The Communist conspiracy against the Negro. New York.

SCHUYLER, GEORGE S.: The Red Drive in the Colonies. New York.

SMITH, FERDINAND: For his patriotic service. New York.

THOMPSON, CHARLES: Separate but not equal. Dallas, Texas.

THORNTON, GEORGE B.: Great Poems. Wilberforce, Ohio.

WHITING, HELEN A.: Up! Up! The Ladder! Atlanta, Ga.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many colored lawyers in this country is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

ARKANSAS

W. Harold Flowers
Masonic Temple, Pine Bluff
Telephone: 919

J. R. Booker
Century Building, Little Rock
Telephone: 2-4248

CALIFORNIA

Geo. R. Vaughns
1027 Adeline St., Oakland 7
Telephone TWinooks 9688

Mathews & Williams
Charles H. Matthews — David W. Williams
2510 S. Central Ave., Los Angeles 11
Telephone: ADams 1-9739—ADams 1-6712

James T. Phillips
33 W. Mountain St., Pasadena 3
Telephone: Sycamore 7-4124

John C. Henderson
1557 — 7th St., Oakland 7
Telephone: TWinoaks 5338

CONNECTICUT

W. Arvey Wood
36 Park Row, Stamford
Telephone: Stamford 3-7037

GEORGIA

Austin T. Walden
428 Herndon Bldg., Atlanta 3
Telephone: Walnut 3536

Thomas J. Henry
208 Auburn Ave., N. E., Atlanta
Telephone: Lamar 4710

ILLINOIS

Loring B. Moore
180 W. Washington St., Chicago 2
Telephone: RANdolph 1094

Ellis & Westbrooks
3000 South State St., Chicago 16
Telephone: CALumet 4968—4969

William Henry Huff
520 E. 35th St., Chicago 16
Telephone: OAK 6749

INDIANA

Charles Quincy Mattocks
427 W. 30th St., Indianapolis 8
Telephone: Wabash 1444

KENTUCKY

Charles W. Anderson, Jr.
602 W. Walnut St., Louisville 3
Telephone: Jackson 6646 & Wabash 4765

MASSACHUSETTS

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Telephone: 32533

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Telephone: Terrace 2-1934

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Telephone: MArket 3-4709

Logan W. McWilson
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Telephone: MArket 3-1779

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Telephone: ACademy 2-9260

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Harry E. Davis
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Chester K. Gillespie
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Telephone: Walnut 2-1042

Theodore Spaulding
154 N. 15th St., Philadelphia 2
Telephone: LOcust 1317

TEXAS

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Office: F4895; Home: F0853

VIRGINIA

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Newport News
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Willmer F. Dillard
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Roanoke 17
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